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The Tui Tonga greeted the great *fahu* (the Tamaha) by placing her foot on his head or by touching his nose to her foot. In the presence of any of his *fahu* he must abstain from eating (65, p. li). He greeted the *kaingaofi* with the nose kiss. The matapule kissed his foot. The *kainanga-fonua* suffered the Tui Tonga's foot to rest on their head. This was supposed to cure those of this class who were sick. The *tamaioeiki* were too low to touch the Tui Tonga. If sick, they might be cured by having the abdomen of the afflicted one rubbed with the bowl in which the Tui Tonga washed his hands.

## CEREMONIAL FUNCTIONS OF THE TUI TONGA

That the Tui Tonga was regarded as a true god by his subjects seems doubtful. That he was regarded as of semi-divine nature is certain, for the Tongan belief is that he was of semi-celestial origin, the progenitor of his line being the sky god Tangaloa Eitumatupua. That he was a god living upon earth all of my informants denied. Collocott, however, records (16, p. 79) a lament or funeral piece for a deceased Tui Tonga, in which he is called a god.

My informants knew of no worship of the Tui Tonga after death, but only of worship of the gods proper. The priest Kautai scoffed at the idea of the Tui Tonga being either a priest or a god. He characterized him as the highest male chief and hence the most sacred male of the country.

Wilson (66), however, states that on occasion, certain deities were represented by certain chiefs; although the Tui Tonga is not specifically mentioned, he may be referred to in connection with either the deity Pulotu Katoa or the deity Fatafehi (whom I have failed to identify). The deity Taliai Tupou was connected with the Tui Kanokupolu. Wilson's statement follows (op. cit., pp. 276, 277):

> Every district has its own deity; and each family of note has one, whom they consider as their peculiar patron. Talliataboo [Taliai Tupou] is the god of Aheefo [Hihifo], which being at present the most powerful, he is accounted a great warrior. Futtafáihe [Fatafehi] presides over Mooa [Mua] and Doobludha [Pulotu], Cartow [Katoa] over the district of Ahoge [Hahake]; each of which deities are on certain occasions represented by the several chiefs of those districts.

Mariner (41, vol. 2, pp. 78, 79) states that high respect and veneration for the Tui Tonga were shown by the following observances: (a) *inasi* ceremony: offering to him of first fruits, about October; (b) peculiarity of his marriage ceremony; (c) peculiarity of his burial ceremony; (d) peculiarity of mourning for his decease; (e) non-circumcision, unless he went to other islands for the operation; (f) not tattooed; (g) peculiarities of speech, used in regard to the Tui Tonga.

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Tupoutoa (Tukuaho's son) was in Haapai when the news came that Tukuaho was killed by Tupouniua and Ulukalala.

Finau, who was beside Tukuaho upon his assassination, was his daughter by Fangafua, his cousin. [Fangafua is not given in the lists as a wife of Tukuaho.] The child lived. When news came that Tukuaho was dead. Fangafua was carried to Pangai, then to Mua, where lay Tukuaho's body. Ata Tofuaipangai, Fangafua's father, instructed that she be strangled so that she might die together with her lord, to which Fangafua agreed. The chiefs said that she was to be buried by the side of her husband, but Ata protested, "No, she is to be taken to Hihifo." So they started to strangle Fangafua, Ulakai standing on the left side, Uhilamoelangi on the right. But Uhilamoelangi could not pull the rope, for he loved his mother. [Apparently Fangafua was not Uhilamoelangi's natural mother. The Tamaha genealogies make him the son of Halaevalukovi, Tukuaho's sister.] Fangafua thereupon took his side of the rope and helped him to pull it. Then she died. Ata ordered her body to be taken to Hihifo, where all the chiefs went. Then Ata said that after Fangafua was buried they would make war. They arrived in Hihifo and sat up for one night with Fangafua's corpse. When morning came she was buried. Meanwhile, Halaevalukovi (full sister of the slain Tukuaho) stayed by the beach in Hihifo in a little Tongan house mourning for Tukuaho. She stayed there for about a month while Hihifo was getting ready for war.

One morning Vahai came with some kava and stood outside Halaevalukovi's house and spoke thus to her: "Why does this silly woman stay near the beach?" She did not answer and he had to speak again.

Then she answered, "Why do you want to know?"

Then entering with his kava he said, "Stand up and beat the kava for me to drink and I will dry your tears."

She answered: "Who said so?"

He replied, "I said so." Then Halaevalukovi sent some girls to go and get all the necessary things for the kava. When the things were brought Halaevalukovi made the kava and then told Vahai that it was ready. Vahai had a drink. He would not allow anyone else to drink as he wanted it all for himself. He had a second bowl and a third. Then he told Halaevalukovi to stand up and go outside and empty the kava out, for he had had the three chief kavas. Then he said good-bye and went away, telling Halaevalukovi to wait and see what happened.

When Vahai returned from Halaevalukovi he went straight to Haa Vakatolo, to the house of Ahomee, and called out and asked for the men. Ahomee told him they had gone to the Liku. Vahai told him to go and tell them to return. Vahai then went on to Foui while Ahomee went for the men. When Vahai arrived in Foui he got all his men together and told them to get ready, as they were to have war on all Tonga. When Ahomee got all his men together they went to Foui and the war started. [For account of the fighting, see 17, p. 140; 16, p. 90.]

After the burial of Tukuaho, Tupoutoa came to Tongatabu, from Haapai, while Ulukalala went to Vavau. When Tupoutoa arrived in Tonga he got all his brothers and sisters and they went to Hihifo and knelt before the sun and prayed for [their father's sister] Halaevalukovi. Then they went to see her and their mother Lepolo, for that was the first time they had gone to them since the death of their father Tukuaho. They knelt before the sun with their heads bowed till afternoon. Then Ulakai came and spoke to Halaevalukovi, "Why do you not speak to your people? They have been here all day and you have said nothing." So Halaevalukovi went and asked them to come in. Then she and the people of Hihifo prepared ovens of food (*feimu*) to welcome her people. There were many pigs killed, the reason being that in Tonga a woman [father's sister] in the family is always the highest chief. After their welcome the brothers and sisters came to Nukualofa.

15. Maafuolimuloa. Maafuolimuloa, Tukuaho's successor as Tui Kanokupolu, was, according to the Tamaha Amelia, not in the line of succession for the office of Tui Kanokupolu. He was the great grandson of the third Tui Kanokupolu Mataeletuapiko and brother of the great chief Maafutukuiaulahi (personal name Tangatailavalu) of

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I have but little information as to the installation (*fakanofo*) of the Tui Kanokupolu. The place of installation (*fakanofo anga*) seems anciently to have been at Kanokupolu, Tongatabu Island, where a special tree served as the back rest of the new appointee. The crux of the appointment ceremony is the serving of the kava to the new incumbent, for it is then that his new name or title is publicly spoken. When the kava is ready the matapule Motuapuaka calls: "Omi ia ki he ni maa Tupou!" (Bring it here for Tupou!) This is unlike the procedure in the ordinary kava ceremony.

West (62, pp. 58, 59) describes the appointment of the Tui Kanokupolu George I as follows:

> The day appointed was the 4th of December, 1845; and, accordingly, the chiefs from various parts of Tonga, Haabai, and Vavau, assembled in state. A few of the Tonga chiefs were still Heathens. Among these were Nuku, Maafu, Tubou-leva, Tugi, and several others; but all parties appeared to approve heartily of the measure. The company was select. None were allowed to go near, in order to stare, or to walk about. To prevent such conduct, a Fijian, dressed, and blackened, according to the custom of his country, walked to and fro as the guard of the ceremony, armed with club and spear. [See account of installation of the present Tui Kanokupolu in 1918, page 94.] The day was very fine, and the gathering of the noted politicians and warriors of the land, under the magnificent trees, which have stood for ages on the award of Bagai, presented a most interesting sight.
>
> The ceremony consisted simply in publicly calling out the future official title of the king, in a *kava*-meeting; that is to say, a meeting where a preparation of kava-root is diluted and drunk by the persons assembled, according to certain well-established rules of etiquette and precedence.
>
> Two chiefs sat, one on either side of the king elect. These were two of the *matuas*, or "fathers" of the land. Their office was to relieve the king, and to act on his behalf. The names of the officiating chiefs were Motua-buaka and Lauaki. The others ranged themselves on either side, in order of rank, and forming a large circle, outside of which, and in front of the king, the bulk of the commoners were seated. The kava being prepared, several chiefs addressed the assembly, before it was served out. Afterwards Motua-buaka delivered an oration explaining the important object of their assembling. The king then addressed them also. Immediately he had finished, his kava was poured into a dish; and then Motua-buaka proclaimed aloud that that was the kava of Taliai-Tubou Tuikanokubolu.

## The Appointment of the Present Tui Kanokupolu

The present Tui Kanokupolu and the sole ruler of Tonga is Charlotte Mafileo Veiongo. She is the second woman to bear the title, the first being the luckless Tupoumoheofo. As the head of the constitutional government of Tonga, Charlotte was proclaimed queen within a few hours after the death of her father, George II, but her appointment to the office of Tui Kanokupolu did not take place until October 9, 1918, following a six months' period of mourning. The following description is abstracted from the account of an anonymous eye witness (49):

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likely that a relative would attend to it. Now relatives of the deceased dig the grave, but the *haatufunga* supervises. Every funeral has its accompanying feasts and kava drinking. All who attend a funeral partake of the feast. At a chief's funeral the *haatufunga* officiate at the feast, giving out the food. The head of the largest pig goes to him. Food may be taken home after distribution or eaten at once. The feast is not in the house where the deceased passed away, but nearby on the same premises. There is no dancing at the present day funeral feasts.

It is incumbent upon the family of the deceased to pay the *haatufunga* with native wealth (*koloa*). A chief will have many fine mats and tapa which are used in payment. Ten, twenty, thirty, or sixty days elapse before payment is made to the *haatufunga*. The reason for the intervals was not given, except that the higher rank of the deceased, the longer the payment is deferred, and the bigger the payment. Anciently non-payment by a chief never occurred. Nowadays if no payment is made a lawsuit follows. Commoners, as well as people of rank, must pay, but no prearrangement of the amount is made with either.

For ten, fifteen, or twenty days there are morning kava ceremonies and small feasts following the big funeral feast. The *haatufunga* is present at these. At the first of these kavas, two or more *haatufunga* have an argument as to which of them is highest in rank—a purely formal traditional proceeding.

The funeral feast is called *fcipulua*, the breakfast served by the family of the deceased on the morning after the burial, *fakapongipongi;* the funeral of a chief, *meafakaeiki*; the funeral of a commoner, *putu*.

The Female Tui Tonga managed the funeral of the Tui Kanokupolu Mumui (66, p. 241), though doubtless the *haatufunga* officiated also. On this occasion two of Mumui's widows were strangled.

Tradition says that occasionally a *haatufunga* was imprisoned in the vault with the body of the chief or king he was interring (16, p. 77). At Houma, Tongatabu, when the vault of the chief Vaea was opened in 1903 the skeleton of a chief was found in proper position, lengthwise, and in one corner was the skeleton of a *haatufunga* who had been shut in the vault.

Each adult individual had a mourning song, called *tangilaulau*, to be sung at the obsequies of a relative or close friend. This song consisted of a definite tune, a simple theme oft repeated, and a lament, also oft repeated, extolling in a simple way the virtues of the dead and very tragically mourning over his departure. Such a lament was permanent with each individual, excepting for the interchange of such words as father and son, as occasion demanded.

These songs began immediately after a death and continued, more or less spasmodically, until the completion of all obsequies. They never were used

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on other occasions, such as the visiting of a relative's grave or at the task called *lanu kilikili* (p. 201).

A *tua* never sang his mourning song for a deceased chief or matapule. Only the chief's near relatives and ranking friends had the privilege of so mourning for him.

Every time a new contingent of mourners arrived at the place of death, the fact became evident from the loud, energetic nature of the singing. This zest soon died down until the songs blended monotonously into the general confusion of the ensemble of mourning. All mourning laments made constant use of the word *oiaue* (alas). The term *fakapo* (literally murder) is also employed. Thus, when women mourn they beat their breasts and cry, "Fakapo, fakapo."

When a chief died, all his *tua* retainers "cut" (singed) off their hair as a sign of mourning (*tauangaa*). The hair was not "bobbed," but was removed quite close to the scalp. There seems to be some doubt as to whether matapule followed this practice, and chiefs are said never to have cut their hair as a sign of mourning, except upon the death of the Tui Tonga or Tamaha, when all the inhabitants of Tonga shaved their heads. The heads of immature children are shaved on the death of their father as a sign of respect and mourning.

Because of the tapu of the head of a deceased person, a visitor lower in rank sits at some distance at the foot of the corpse. Nowadays it is common to kiss the dead person's face, but after so doing an inferior relative sits in the part of the room towards the feet of the corpse and the visit is not long.

The term *fakakoloa* means to enshroud a corpse with tapa and mats. A great pile of these was spread over the body of one of rank and distinction. This work was done by women only, including all the wives and women of the chief and of his retainers. A hand barrow or bier called *fata* served to carry a corpse. When the *fata* was made for the body of a Tui Tonga, Tui Tonga Fefine, or Tamaha, a great many men shouldered the poles to carry it.

A house, like a dwelling house, to which a chief was taken when thought to be dying, was called *faletolia*. The house was specially constructed for this prospective event. Here the chief was left to die, all his matapule and retainers gathering about him to mourn and take care of him. Or if a chief should die suddenly, his corpse would be taken to such a house to lie in state. The *tua* from among a chief's retainers did all of the manual labor in connection with the upkeep of the *faletolia*, the *haatufunga* attending to the official and ceremonial duties. After the burial the house might be burned or the sister's son (*fahu*) of the deceased might claim it as a future place of dwelling. Previous to this, all the mats and other household effects as-

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sembled for the chief's use and comfort while he lived, were disposed of. After the *fahu* took the pick of these, the *haatufunga* distributed the remainder among important chiefs and matapules, retainers, and relatives of the deceased, but kept a goodly share for himself, however. 768

The house built over a chief's grave was also called *faletolia*, according to my information, which is perhaps in error. Its practical purpose was to shelter the ornamental grave design (*fungaputu*) from wind and rain. The purpose avowedly ascribed to it, however, was that of protecting the dead chief from the sun and rain. There was no priest or caretaker in such a house, nor was food put there. Tapa and mats might be placed in it by way of remembrance. Such objects might be replaced with fresh ones from time to time. Sometimes a coconut leaf screen was put around the grave within the house. 765 349

The *falefeao* was an inferior dwelling house built near the *faletolia* of a dying chief, and used as a dwelling by his attendants. Some houses might already be located conveniently near the *faletolia*; others were especially constructed on the spot or moved from a former site. Baker's definition of *falefeao* as "the house built near the god's house for the reception of the sick" (no doubt when seeking divine intervention for a cure) would seem a more apt definition for *faletolia*, however. He says also that the *falefeao* may be any house built or used for those attending a superior's wants on some special occasion. 342 763

When one was about to die and the people were sent to fetch the sand for the grave, one person was sent to get a branch of the *aveave* and put it in the place in the cemetery where the sand from the beach was to be deposited. This was termed *ae aveave* (to plant the *aveave*). This branch was not removed but allowed to grow. 763

The digging of the grave is the last of the preparations and is never done while the sick person is still alive. Should the burial be postponed after the grave has been dug, the grave is filled up and the same site dug out afresh on the day of burial. 764

The funeral lights which are burned at night about a corpse are called *takipo*. A high chief has more lights than a commoner. There are three people to a torch, one to hold it, two to replenish it. The torch holders face the body, but are not near it. The earliest traditional mention of the *takipo* is afforded by the story of the death of the famous Tui Tonga Tuitatui who reigned about 1200 A. D. (26, p. 45). 764 416

Old, torn mats (*tauangaa*) are worn as a sign of mourning for a near relative. For a remote relative who is not a chief a good mat may be worn. The mourning mat worn by a chief over his tapa garment is called *fakangafingafi*. The generic term *taovala* applies to *tauangaa* and *fakangafingafi*. Neither tapa nor modern textile cloth may be so worn. 765 602 292

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The word *sia* (25, p. 199) refers to any mound, artificial or otherwise, including grave mounds; but a chief's tumulus was not called a *sia*. It was called a mountain (*mounga*) as a compliment to the high rank of the interred. The burial places of the Tui Tonga and Tamaha were called langis; those of lesser dignitaries were called *faitoka*. The langis were rectangular, the *faitoka* circular tumuli. Such tumuli are common and contain burial vaults. The chief's retainers were sometimes buried in the mound around the vault, thus giving rise to the erroneous modern idea that the word *faitoka* means a cemetery, rather than a single tomb.

McKern (42) treats fully of these burial vaults. Two ancient tumuli which I observed on Eua Island were respectively 10 and 15 feet high and had shell and coral on top, and in the higher of the two, the stone slab covering the vault was exposed.

Black volcanic pebbles (*kilikili*) were used, among other things, to decorate the graves of chiefs, their relatives, and matapules. The graves of commoners were said not to be so decorated anciently. The mound over a commoner's grave was called *tanuanga* and the excavation for the burial of a commoner *tanunga*. There is at Koulo, Lifuka Island, Haapai, a graveyard for commoners. It is called Anatatangi. There are said to have been no graveyards for commoners formerly. The *tua* was buried anywhere convenient, usually in the tract where he lived, and his grave was not cared for beyond the generation of those relatives living at the time of his demise. In the bush to-day are to be found many remains of the ancient rural population of commoners.

The term *fakafalekakai* refers to the burying of a child or dearly beloved relative in the dwelling house. This was done for sentimental reasons, "so that the deceased might still sit with them in the home circle." It seems to have been practiced only by commoners.

Cave burial was sometimes resorted to. I saw near Houma, Eua Island, a cave in which the people were buried in rows. Formerly the entrance was closed by a slab. A tidal wave smashed it and stirred up the bones within. Vakauta, my informant, said that the people in the cave were people who dwelt with Falekaono, a Vavau chief who had a tract at Tufuvai, in Eua.

The decorating of the grave top took place from several days after a burial to two years thereafter. Black volcanic pebbles, red coral, white coral, and sand were the principal materials used in the decorating. The grave decorating was followed by one day of feasting. The actual work of decorating and the accompanying feasting were called *lanukilikili* (*lanu*, color; *kilikili*, black volcanic pebbles used in grave decorating). No ceremony took place at the grave in connection with the decorating, the

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work being practical in its scope. Bottles of coconut oil seen at modern graves are to oil the black pebbles to make them appear even blacker.

The *kilikili*, or other decorative materials, were always placed on the grave by women, among whom were the female relatives of the dead and all neighboring women who contributed their work as *meaofa* (thing of love), which would later be reciprocated. The work and the feasting were accompanied and intervalled by mourning and crying. It is customary to hang wreaths and girdles called *sisi* at graves. Food is not offered to the dead, but mats and tapa may be.

If the dead were of chiefly rank, the ranking male representative of that chiefly family acted as director of the *lanukilikili*. He set the time for doing it and authorized his official matapule to gather materials and perform other necessary work. His wife, or, in the absence of a wife, the closest female representative, directed that part of the work to be done by women. If the dead was of matapule rank, the chief to whom that matapule owed allegiance directed the work as above, the actual managing, of course, being placed in the hands of an appointed matapule.

The following is an account of a recent interment of a woman of high rank, as witnessed by E. E. V. Collocott:

> Mary Siliukitapu, widow of the late Premier Tukuaho, and mother of the Prince Consort Tungi, died on the 29th of July, 1921, and was buried Saturday, the 30th of July in the same grave with her late husband. When the time came for the body to be placed in the vault a large piece of tapa was put up as a screen so that none but the *haatufunga* could see into the grave and behold the remains of Tukuaho. A work song (*tauaalo*) was sung whilst the body was being placed in the grave.
>
> A boy told me afterwards that he had assisted in the burial of a child related to Valu of Utulau. A vault in which a person had been previously buried was opened for the occasion. The boy said that he and others dug the sand off from the top of the vault, lifted the stone slab, and then retired to a distance, so as not to see into the vault. A *haatufunga* man alone was allowed to see the remains already there. When the covering slab was lifted he concealed these remains with tapa. He took the body of the dead child and put it in the grave.

Miss Beatrice Shirley Baker witnessed the opening of the vault in the Langi Olovehi at Hihifo, Lifuka Island, Haapai. The vault was in the form of a truncated pyramid with four sides. Its base was about 8 feet long, top about 5 feet long, and depth 4 feet, the stones which formed the sides were about 1 foot thick. The vault was covered by stone slabs about 2 feet thick and 7 feet square which overlapped its mouth. These stones were of a yellowish coral and had a level surface. The body of Tuita which was to be interred was wrapped in fine mats and tapa; it was lowered feet first into the vault, as the opening was too short to allow it being put straight down. Passed round the edge of the slab were ropes for moving it and these were pulled by men standing on the ground below the tomb, as they were not allowed to stand on the terrace, because of the tapu. Only

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during the siege. This being granted, they came and singled out half a dozen, from the 350 that lay about, whom they knew, from particular circumstances, to be their relations. These they took home to Nookoo Nookoo, leaving all the rest where they found them.

Every day a number of deserters from different garrisons came over to Finow: they all brought intelligence that Finow might shortly expect an attack from one or other of them: but the fortress of Nioocalofa was now well prepared to receive them. In the meanwhile, the chief of a fortress called Bea, about four miles to the eastward, entered into an alliance with Finow, or rather submitted to his dominion, acknowledging him king of Tonga. The name of this chief was Tarky.

Having remained a fortnight or three weeks in daily expectation of an attack from an enemy, and seeing yet no signs of it, Finow became exceedingly impatient; for he was desirous of returning to the Hapai islands to perform an indispensable ceremony of a religious nature, which we shall now explain. At the death of Tooitonga, (their great divine chief) there is such a constant feasting for nearly a month, as to threaten a future scarcity of certain kinds of provisions: to prevent which evil, a prohibition, or *táboo*, is afterwards laid upon

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hogs, fowls, and cocoa-nuts, so that nobody but great chiefs may use them for food, under pain of death. This *táboo* lasts about eight months. When Mr. Mariner first arrived at these islands, Tooitonga, the predecessor of the present Tooitonga, had just died, and the ceremony of his burial was being performed; though this gentleman had not the opportunity of witnessing it. All the feasting consequent upon this event being over, the *táboo* was imposed upon the articles above named; and now, after the lapse of eight months, comes the period to take it off, and the accomplishment of this constitutes the ceremony in question. It must be mentioned, by the way, that two or three plantations are not subject to this *táboo*, to the end that hogs, fowls, and cocoa-nuts, may be furnished for occasional religious rites, and for the consumption of the higher order of chiefs. If the removal of the *táboo* were not performed in due time, it is supposed that the Gods would become exceedingly angry, and revenge themselves by the death of some of their great chiefs.

Finow, as before stated, seeing no appearance of an enemy, and being anxious to return to Hapai for the performance of this ceremony, consulted the Gods, and was admonished by them to proceed to the Hapai islands as soon as possible. With this view, he at first intended to

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could know nothing of the contents; and that the histories of whole nations were thus handed down to posterity, without spoiling by being kept (as he chose to express himself). Finow acknowledged this to be a most noble invention, but added, that it would not at all do for the Tonga islands, that there would be nothing but disturbances and conspiracies, and he should not be sure of his life, perhaps, another month. He said, however, jocosely, that he should like to know it himself, and for all the women to know it, that he might make love with less risk of discovery, and not so much chance of incurring the vengeance of their husbands.

This circumstance served greatly to amuse and interest Finow and all his chiefs during their day's stay at Pangaimotoo. The following morning they again embarked, and sailing with a favourable wind for the Hapai islands, they arrived at Namooca, and ultimately at Lefooga.

Orders were now issued, and preparations were speedily made for the ceremony of annulling the eight months *taboo*. The places appropriated for this purpose were two *maláis*, and the grave of Tooitonga. For distinction's sake, we shall call the first *malái* Tooitonga's, and the second Finow's. Tooitonga's *malái* is near his own residence, and on this were erected four

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columns of yams in the following manner: four poles, about eighteen feet long, were fixed upright in the ground, to the depth of a few feet, at about four feet distance from each other in a quadrangular form; the spaces between them, all the way to the top, being crossed by smaller poles about six inches distant from each other, and lashed on by the bark of the *fow* (species of the Hibiscus); the interior of this erection being filled up as they proceeded with yams; and afterwards other upright poles were lashed on to the top with cross pieces in like manner, still piling up the yams; then a third set of poles, &c., till the column of yams was about fifty or sixty feet high, when on the top of all was placed a cold baked pig. Four such columns were erected, one at each corner of the *malái*, the day before the ceremony, and three or four hundred hogs were killed, and about half baked. The following day the hogs were carried to the king's *malái*, about a quarter of a mile off, and placed upon the ground before the house, as well as four or five wooden cars or sledges full of yams, each holding about five hundred. While this was doing, and the people assembling from all quarters, those who were already arrived sat themselves down round the king's *malái*. Occasionally some of them got up to amuse themselves and the rest of the com-

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pany by wrestling with one another. The king and his chiefs, all dressed in plaited *gnatoo*, were already seated in the house, viewing what was going forward. The company being, at length, all arrived, and having seated themselves, the king gave notice that the ceremony was to begin. The young chiefs and warriors, and those who prided themselves in their strength, then got up singly, and endeavoured in turns to carry off the largest hog: when one failed, another tried; then a third, and so on, till every one that chose had made a trial of his strength. To carry one of the largest hogs is not a thing easy to be done, on account of its greasiness as well as its weight; but it affords a considerable share of diversion to see a man embracing a large fat baked hog, and endeavouring to raise it on his shoulder. As the hog was found too heavy for one man's strength, it was carried away by two, whilst a third followed with its liver. They were deposited on the ground near Tooitonga's *malái*, where the men waited till the other hogs were brought. In the mean time the trial was going on with the second hog, which being also found too heavy for one man, was carried away by two in like manner; and so on with the third, fourth, &c., the largest being carried away first, and the least last. The second, third, fourth, &c. afforded more sport than the first,

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as being a nearer counterbalance with a man's strength. Sometimes he had got it nearly upon his shoulder, when his greasy burden slipped through his arms, and, in his endeavour to save it, brought him down after it. It is an honour to attempt these things, and even the king, sometimes, puts his hand to it*. The small hogs and pigs afforded no diversion, as they were easily lifted and carried away, each by one man, and deposited, not at the outside of Tooitonga's *malái* along with the largest hogs, but carried at once into it, where the cars of yams were also dragged one at a time. When every thing was thus cleared from the king's *malái*, the company got up and proceeded to the other, where they again seated themselves, whilst Tooitonga presided, and the king and his chiefs, out of respect, sat on the outside of the ring among the great body of the people. The large hogs which had been deposited in the neighbourhood of this *malái* were now to be brought in, each by one man, and, as it had been found that one man's strength was not sufficient to raise any of them upon his shoulders, two others were allowed to lift the hog and place it upon his shoulders for him, and then he tottered in with his load, followed by another

* Nevertheless, as will be seen hereafter, they are a very cleanly people.

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man with the liver; and in this manner all the hogs and their livers were carried in and deposited in two or three rows before Tooitonga. Their number was then counted by the head cooks of Tooitonga and Finow, and announced aloud to Tooitonga by his own head cook; the number of cars and piles of yams was also announced at the same time.

This being done, about twenty of the largest hogs were carried to Tooitonga's burying-place, nearly an hundred yards distant: those which were too heavy for one man to lift being put upon his shoulders by two others, &c., as before, and deposited near the grave; one car of yams was also taken and left in like manner.

This portion of pork and yam being disposed of, the remainder was shared out in the following manner: one column of yams was allotted to the king, to be removed in the afternoon, and to be disposed of as he pleased: (he always shares it among his chiefs and fighting men:) another column was allotted to Veachi* and two or three other chiefs: the third was given to the gods; (the priests always take care of this portion;) and the fourth Tooitonga claimed for his own share. As to the cars of yams, they

* Veachi, like Tooitonga, is a divine chief, that is descended from a god; he is, however, inferior to Tooitonga, but higher in rank than the king: see second volume of the work.

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were never inquired after: Tooitonga generally takes care of them, and appropriates them to his own use, and that of his numerous household, not that he has any legal right to them beyond custom and silent consent. The hogs were disposed of in like manner: the greatest quantity to the greatest chiefs, who share them out to the chiefs immediately below them in rank, and these again to their dependants, till every man in the island gets at least a mouthful of pork and yam. The ceremony now concluded with dancing, wrestling, &c. after which, every person present having secured his portion, retired to his home to share it with his family. From this moment the *taboo*, or prohibition upon hogs, fowls, and cocoa-nuts, was null and void.

The hogs and yams left at Tooitonga's grave, having remained there several days, (till the pork stunk,) were shared out, by order of Tooitonga, to all who chose to apply for a portion. They belong indeed properly to the principal chiefs; but as they are accustomed to feed upon meat in a better state of preservation, they forego their claims, and allow the lower orders to eat it for them. Mr. Mariner could not learn why the pork was thus left till it was scarcely eatable—the only answer he could get was, that such was the ancient custom. It may perhaps be considered an offering to Tooitonga's ances-

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tors, which it would be sacrilegious to take away while it was good for any thing.

Finow had three daughters, the eldest of whom, now about eighteen years of age, had been long betrothed to Tooitonga, who having expressed his wish that the marriage should take place, Finow gave orders for the necessary preparations, about five days after the above-mentioned ceremony. Tooitonga was now about forty years of age. The particulars of this chief's marriage, which was somewhat different from those of other chiefs, shall be here described.

The young lady having been profusely anointed with cocoa-nut oil, scented with sandal-wood, was dressed in the choicest mats of the Navigator's islands, of the finest texture, and as soft as silk; so many of these costly mats were wrapped round her, perhaps more than forty yards, that her arms stuck out from her body in a ludicrous manner; and she could not, strictly speaking, sit down, but was obliged to bend in a sort of half-sitting posture, leaning upon her female attendants, who were under the necessity of again raising her when she required it. A young girl, about five years of age, was also dressed out in a similar manner, to be her immediate and particular handmaid. Four other young virgins, about sixteen years of age, were also her fol-

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During the whole
of this day, and the following night, the body inclosed in the canoe, with the lid closely fastened down, remained in the house: in the mean time Finow issued orders for a general assembly of *all* the inhabitants of the island, to take place the ensuing morning before the house, and nobody to be absent under any pretext whatsoever, not even that of illness.

Early the following day all the people, according to Finow's orders, assembled before the house, where there was a large supply of provisions and cava for the conclusion of the ceremony. In the mean time the body was conveyed to the Fytóca, where it was deposited, inside the house, without any pomp or form, not within the grave, but on the top of it, that Finow might see the coffin whenever he pleased, and take it away with him whenever he went to a distance.

On this extraordinary occasion, which the caprice of Finow rendered a scene of rejoicing rather than of mourning, after the provisions

apt to become very inflated, it is the duty of a relation to prevent this happening to a great extent, by the practice of a most disgusting operation, viz. making a hole in some part of the abdomen, and, the mouth being applied, sucking out the putrescent fluids, and spitting them into a dish: and this is done out of love and affection for the deceased, without any apparent signs of disgust! Mr. Mariner had this from several natives of Hamoa.

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and cava were shared out, they began the entertainments of wrestling and boxing as usual at festivals. After the men had shown their strength and dexterity in these feats by single engagements, the king gave orders that all the women who resided north of the *mooa* should arrange themselves on one side, ready to combat all the women who resided south of the *mooa*, who were to arrange themselves on the other. It was not a very rare occurrence for women to fight in pairs on occasions of rejoicing; but a general engagement like this, with about fifteen hundred women on each side, was a thing altogether new, and beyond all precedent, and quite unexpected at a funeral ceremony. The women, however, readily engaged, [164] and kept up the contest, with obstinate bravery, for about an hour, without a foot of ground being lost or gained on either side; nor would the battle have subsided then, if Finow, seeing the persevering courage of these heroines, had not ordered them to desist, the battle having cost them several sprained ancles and broken arms. They fought with a great deal of steadiness, and gave fair hits, without pulling one another's hair. The men now divided themselves in like manner into two parties, and began a general engagement, which was persisted in a considerable time with much

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fury, till at length that party which belonged to the side of the island on which Finow dwelt began to give way: instantly he rushed from the house in which he was seated, to reanimate his men by his presence and exertions, which he effected to such a degree, that the opposite party in their turn fell back, and were completely beaten off the ground.

This contest being now ended, the company dispersed, each to his respective home, whilst Finow retired to a small house, which had been built since his daughter's death, near Bŏŏno (the large house on the *malái*); and there, feeling himself much exhausted, he laid down to rest from his fatigue. He had not been long in this posture before he found himself very ill: his respiration became difficult: he turned himself repeatedly from side to side; his lips became purple, and his under jaw seemed convulsed: from time to time he groaned deeply and most horribly: all the bystanders were much affected, the women shed a profusion of tears, and the men were occupied no doubt with the thoughts of what commotion might happen in the event of his death, what blood might be spilt, and what battles won and lost. The king, in the meanwhile, seemed perfectly sensible of his situation; he attempted to speak, but the power of utterance

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of which the *fytoca* consists, may be strewed in like manner, it being considered a great embellishment to a grave to have it thus covered, and is thought to appear very well from a distance, where the clean sand may be seen on the outside of the *fytoca;* besides which, it is the custom, and nobody can explain the reason why,—which is the case with several of their customs. This being done, the temporary house is taken to pieces, and thrown behind the *fytoca* in the hole, out of which the earth was originally dug to raise the mount on which the *fytoca* stands *: in this hole also are thrown all the baskets in which the sand was brought, as well as the remaining quantity of earth not used in filling up the grave. The ground within the *fytoca* is now covered with mats, similar to what are commonly used in the houses, and which are made of the leaves of the cocoa-nut tree. During the whole of this time the company was seated on the green before the *fytoca*, still clothed in mats, and their necks strung with the leaves of the *ifi* tree: after this they arose and went to their respective habitations, where they shaved their heads, and burnt their cheeks with a small lighted roll of

* Or rather the house upon the *fytoca*, for the latter is a term given merely to the mount and the grave within it; they have several *fytocas* which have no houses on them.

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*tápa* *, by applying it once upon each cheek bone; after which, the place was rubbed with the astringent berry of the *matchi*, which occasions it to bleed, and with the blood they smeared about the wound, in a circular form, to nearly two inches in diameter, giving themselves a very unseemly appearance †. They repeat this friction with the berry every day, making the wound bleed afresh: and the men, in the mean time, neglect to shave, and to oil themselves during the day; they do, however, at night, for the comfort which this operation affords. After having, in the first place, burnt their cheeks and shaved their heads, they built for themselves small temporary huts, for their own accommodation during the time of mourning, which lasts twenty days. The women, who have become *tabooed* by touching the dead body, remain constantly in the *fytoca*, except when they want food, for which they retire to one or other of these temporary houses, to be fed as mentioned in the note, p. 141, but they sleep in

* *Tápa* differs from *gnatoo* merely by its not being stamped or imprinted with any pattern.

† Those whose love for the deceased is very great, or who wish it to be thought so, instead of burning their cheeks in the way mentioned, rub off the cuticle by beating and rubbing their cheeks with platt wound round their hands, made of the husk of the cocoa-nut; and this is a most painful operation.

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the *fytoca*. The provisions with which these *tabooed* women and mourners in general are provided were sent, on this occasion, with bales of *gnatoo*, first to the young prince, by the different chiefs and matabooles; the prince then ordered the greater part of them to be sent to the *tabooed* women: and they were accordingly carried and placed on the ground, at some distance from the grave, or else laid down before the temporary house, to which the chief of the *tabooed* women retires to be fed; and she orders them to be distributed to the different chiefs and matabooles, who again share them out in the usual way. The fifth and tenth days of such a ceremony are, however, marked by a greater quantity of provision than ordinary being sent, for which they give no reason but that of custom. On the twentieth day there is also an unusually large quantity sent; and this is by way of finishing the funeral ceremony. With these provisions they also send every day a supply of *tomes**, to light up the *fytoca* during the night: these tomes are held by a woman, who, when fatigued with this office, is relieved by another: those who take the light into their charge are of the lower ranks. They, as well as the others, when not oppressed by sleep, in general, spend their time in talking upon in-

* The tome is a sort of torch.

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different subjects. During these twenty days also, if any one pass the *fytoca*, he must not proceed in his ordinary careless way, swinging his arms, but with a slow pace, his head bowed down, and his hands clapsed before him, if he have no burden; and if he have, he must lower it, (from his shoulder for instance,) and carry it in his hands, or upon his bended arms:—but if he can conveniently do it, he will go a circuitous route, to avoid the grave. Here it may be observed, that, on all occasions, when a man with a burden passes a great chief, or the grave of a great chief, particularly if there be any one near to see him, he lowers his burden out of respect. Every day also, one or more approach, and sit before the grave for two or three hours, beating their faces with their fists; sometimes they bruise their heads with clubs, in which case they stand up*. These are the uniform and essential circumstances which always take place during this part of the ceremony of burying chiefs,—we now come to speak of those which were peculiar to this particular instance.

On the day after the deceased How was put

* Finow's chief widow, *Móoonga Toobó*, every morning, attended by her women, cut the grass short before the grave with knives and sharp shells, sweeping away leaves and loose blades with brooms made of the mid rib of the cocoa-nut leaf: they also procured sweet-scented plants, principally the *jidle*, and planted them before the grave.

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in the ground, the principal chiefs and matabooles requested the prince to intimate to Voona and certain other chiefs, their wish that they should go to the Hapai islands: this he did; but, at the same time, gave them liberty to stop till the funeral ceremony was concluded. Voona received this intimation in a becoming manner, acknowledging the impropriety of his stay, if the people were any way jealous of his presence. The prince apologized for this step, urging the will of his people as his sole motive; and expressed, with great warmth, his wish that he who had been so long his friend and companion could still remain his associate.

The following day, at a general assembly of the chiefs and matabooles, after the cava was prepared, and the two first cups handed out, the third, which, according to custom, is presented to the chief who presides, was next filled; and when an attendant, as usual, declared aloud that the cup was filled, all eyes were fixed on the prince, whilst the mataboole who sat next to him exclaimed, "Give it to Finow!"—and it was accordingly handed to him, whilst he preserved an appearance of perfect unconcern at the name by which, for the first time, he was called*. And this was a matter of no small importance; for had he ap-

* See note, p. 370.

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peared elated at this circumstance, he would have been thought a man of a weak mind, little calculated to be a supreme chief: whereas the character of such a personage should be, in their estimation, (and very rightly too,) that of superiority over the influence of petty passions, and such trifling emotions as are fit only for the vulgar tribe of mankind. As soon as all the cava was served out and drunk, Finow addressed the company to the following purport.

"Listen to me, chiefs and warriors!—If "any among you are discontented with the "present state of affairs,—now is the time to go "to Hapai; for no man shall remain at Vavaoo "with a mind discontented and wandering to "other places. I have seen with sorrow the "wide destruction occasioned by the unceasing "war carried on by the chief now lying in the "*malái*: we have indeed been doing a great "deal, but what is the result?—the land is de-"populated! it is overgrown with weeds, and "there is nobody to cultivate it: had we re-"mained peaceful, it would have been populous "still: the principal chiefs and warriors are "fallen, and we must be contented with the "society of the lower class. What madness! "is not life already too short? Is it not a noble "characteristic in a man to remain happy and "peaceful in his station? What folly then to

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"seek for war to shorten that which is already "*too* short! Who is there among us who can "say, 'I wish to die—I am weary of life?' "Have we not then been acting like those of no "understanding? Have we not been madly "seizing the very thing which deprives us of "what we *really want?* Not that we ought to "banish all thoughts of fighting! If any power "approach us with the front of battle, and at- "tempt to invade our rights, our fury and "bravery shall be excited more, in proportion "as we have more possessions to defend. Let "us therefore confine ourselves to agriculture, "for that is truly guarding our country. Why "should we be anxious for an increase of ter- "ritory? Our land is quite large enough to "supply us with food,—we shall not even be "able to devour all its produce! But perhaps I "am not speaking to you wisely! the old mata- "booles are present; I beg them to tell me if "I am wrong. I am yet but a youth, and, on "that account, should be unfit to govern, if my "mind, like that of the deceased chief, sought "not the advice of others: for your loyalty and "fidelity towards him, however, I return you "my sincere thinks. Finow Fiji, who is pre- "sent, and the matabooles, know well my fre- "quent inquiries concerning the good of our "government: do not then say, *wherefore do*

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"*we listen to the idle talk of a boy?* Recollect, "whilst I speak to you, my voice is the echo "of the sentiments of Toe Oomoo, and Oooloo- "valoo, and Afoo, and Fotoo, and Alo, and all "the high chiefs and matabooles of Vavaoo.— "Listen to me! I remind you that if there be "any among you discontented with this state "of affairs, the present is the only opportunity "I will give to depart: for let pass this occa- "sion, and not at all shall we communicate "with Hapai. Choose therefore your dwelling- "places; there is Fiji, there is Hamoa, there is "Tonga, there is Hapai, there is Fotoona and "Lotooma!—Those men in particular having "minds unanimous, loving to dwell in constant "peace,—they alone shall remain at Vavaoo "and its neighbouring isles. Yet will I not "suppress the bravery of any one warlike spi- "rit:—Behold! the islands of Tonga and Fiji "are constantly at war; let him there display "his courage. Arise! go to your respective ha- "bitations; and recollect, that to-morrow the "canoes depart for Hapai*."

"* For the original of this fine speech, and a literal translation, see the latter part of the grammar. Mr. Mariner had in a manner learnt it off by heart, for it was so universally admired that it was in every body's mouth for a long time after. The above version will be found somewhat different from the one in the first edition, and the reason is I did not at that time feel so well the force and strength of the Tonga idiom. [128]

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765 634 [537] Finow, having finished his speech, arose and went to his house, accompanied by the sons of his chiefs and matabooles, who, together with his warriors, formed his retinue. After a repast, provided beforehand*, he again made an address, but in a more familiar and conversational way, on the advantages of cultivating land for one's own food, and eating the produce of one's own labour; and to strengthen his argument, he observed, that, hitherto in Tonga, it had been the custom for those who formed the retinue of chiefs to subsist on the provision which those chiefs thought proper to share out to them from their own store: and during the great famine (which happened many years before, while he was yet but a boy), he had remarked that more of these men (chiefs' dependents) had died than of the lower orders, who tilled the ground for their own support, as well as that of their chiefs, because they always found means to reserve food for themselves, however great might be the tax; while those who depended on the bounty of their chiefs got but a very scanty allowance. He then went on, "You do not know how much pleasure such

765 634 829 537 241 [514]

[276] * They often have cava parties where little is eaten, which was the case with that where he made the above speech; those who are fond of cava seldom eat much with it, conceiving that food destroys its genuine taste, and prevents its due effect upon the system.

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"men feel when they view the work of their
"own hands thriving daily: and, whilst eating,
"when they reflect that their labour has been
"repaid by the increase of their stores: there-
"fore let us (chiefs and attendants of chiefs)
"apply ourselves, as we have nothing else to
"do, to agriculture: follow my example; I
"will order a piece of ground to be cleared,
"and, during the next rain, I will assist in
"planting it with *hiabo*."

No other circumstances worthy of note happened during the twenty days concluding the burial ceremony. On the tenth day, those who were not relations of the deceased, nor constituted his household, wore a sort of half mourning; that is to say, under their mats they wore a piece of *gnatoo*, not to be seen, but merely to be more comfortable to the skin than the mats, which, on these occasions, are not of the finest texture. After the twentieth day they wore their ordinary dress, and went to their proper habitations; so did also the relations of the deceased, but then these wore mats for about two months afterwards, though with *gnatoo* under them.

We now come to speak of the transactions of the twentieth day, which concludes the whole ceremony.

Early in the morning of this day, all the rela-

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765 634 tions of the deceased chief, together with those who formed his household, and also the women who were *tabooed* by having touched his dead body, whilst oiling and preparing it, went to the back of the island (without any particular order or ceremony) to procure a number of flat pebbles, principally white, but a few black, for which they made baskets on the spot to carry them in as before mentioned, when they went to procure sand. With these they returned to the grave, and strewed the inside of the house with the white ones, and also the outside about the *fytoca*, as a decoration to it: the black pebbles they strewed only upon those white ones, which covered the ground directly over the body, to about the length and breadth of a man, in the form of a very eccentric ellipsis. After this, the house over the *fytoca* was [417] closed up at both ends with a reed fencing, reaching from the eaves to the ground, and, at the front and back, with a sort of basket-work, made of the young branches of the cocoa-nut tree, split and interwoven in a very curious and ornamental way, to remain till the next burial, when they are to be taken down, and, after the conclusion of the ceremony, new ones are to be [514] put up in like manner. A large quantity of provisions was now sent to the *malái* by the [276] chiefs of the different districts of the island,

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ready prepared and cooked; and also a considerable quantity prepared by Finow's own household: among these provisions was a good supply of cava root. After the chiefs, matabooles, and others, were all assembled, the provisions and cava were served out in the usual way. During this time no speech was made, nor did any particular occurrence take place. The company afterwards repaired each to his respective house, and got ready for a grand wrestling-match and entertainment of dancing the Meë too Buggi (literally, the dance, standing up with paddles. See second volume.)

During the intervals of the dances, several matabooles, warriors, and others, ran before the grave, bruising and cutting their heads with clubs, axes, &c., as proofs of their fidelity to the late chief: among them, two boys, one about twelve, the other about fourteen years of age (sons of matabooles), made themselves very conspicuous in this kind of self infliction; the youngest in particular, whose father was killed in the service of the late chief, during the great revolution at Tonga, after having given his head two or three hard knocks, ran up to the grave in a fit of enthusiasm, and dashing his club with all his force against the ground, exclaimed, "Finow! why should I attempt "thus to express my love and fidelity towards

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" you? my wish is, that the gods of Bolotoo " permit me to live long enough to prove my " fidelity to your son:" he then again raised his club, and, running about, bruised and cut his little head in so many places, that he was covered with streams of blood. This demonstration on the part of the young hero was thought very highly of by every one present, though, according to custom, nothing at that time was said in his praise; agreeably to their maxim, that praise raises a man's opinions of his own merit too high, and fills him with self-conceit. The late How's fishermen now advanced forward, to shew their love for their deceased master in the usual way; though, instead of a club or axe, each bore the paddle of a canoe, with which he beat and bruised his head at intervals, making similar exclamations to those so often related. In one respect, however, they were somewhat singular; that is, in having three arrows stuck through each cheek, in a slanting direction, so that, while their points came quite through the cheek into the mouth, the other ends went over their shoulders, and were kept in that situation by another arrow, the point of which was tied to the ends of the arrows passing over one shoulder, and the other end to those of the arrows passing over the other shoulder, so as to

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form a triangle; and with this horrible equipment they walked round the grave, beating their faces and heads, as before stated, with the paddles, or pinching up the skin of the breast, and sticking a spear quite through; all this, to prove their love and affection for the deceased chief.

After these exhibitions of cruelty were over, this day's ceremony (which altogether lasted about six hours) was finished by a grand wrestling-match, which being ended, every one retired to his respective house or occupation; and thus terminated the ceremony of burying the king of the Tonga islands.

Finow's character, as a politician, at least in point of ambition and design, may vie with that of any member of more civilized society; he wanted only education and a larger field of action, to make himself a thousand times more powerful than he was. Gifted by nature with that amazing grasp of mind which seizes every thing within its reach, and then, dissatisfied with what it has obtained, is ever restless in the endeavour to obtain more, how dull and irksome must have been to him the dominion of a few islands, which he did not dare to leave to conquer others, lest he should be dispossessed of them by the treachery of chiefs, and the fickleness of an undisciplined army. His

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who was a party concerned in taking the Port au Prince), was a woman of uncommon penetration and discernment, and, on that account, as well as from the circumstance of her being the daughter of a chief who was a friend of the late Finow's father, was highly regarded by the late king, and who attached himself to her so much, that it is supposed she lived with him as his mistress during the time that she was actually the wife of her first husband. She was a woman extremely religious, and universally respected, on account of her accurate knowledge with regard to all religious ceremonies, on which subject she was frequently consulted by the chiefs; and, upon political matters, Finow himself often consulted her, for in this, also, she stood eminent in the esteem of every one. To Finow she seemed as much attached as he to her; and, after his death, mourned his loss with a sorrow beyond the reach of comfort. She, above all others, was most attentive in decorating with flowers planted by her own hand, and, with the utmost solicitude, keeping in order the *fytoca* where lay the body of her deceased friend. For the space of six months this faithful mourner scarcely ever slept but on his grave, watering it with her tears, and disturbing the silence of the night with her sighs. One day she went, with the deepest affliction, to the house of Mo-oonga

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668 754 634 837 787 Toobó, the widow of the deceased chief, to communicate what had happened to her at the *fytoca* during several nights, and which caused her the greatest anxiety. She related that she had dreamed that the late How appeared to her, and, with a countenance full of disappointment, asked, why there yet remained at Vavaoo so many evil-designing persons; for, he declared, that, since he had been at Bolotoo, his spirit had been disturbed by the evil machinations of wicked men conspiring against his son; but he declared that "the youth" should not be molested, nor his power shaken by the spirit of rebellion; that therefore he came to her with a warning voice, to prevent such disastrous consequences. The apparition next desired her to [765] place in order the pebble-stones upon his grave*, and pay every attention to the *fytoca*; he then disappeared. This troublesome dream she had 668 754 634 had three or four nights successively. Mo-oonga Toobó, upon hearing this account, thought it expedient to search the *fytoca*, to see if the charm of *tattao*† had not been practised in re-

* It must here be recollected, that mourners were accustomed to smooth the graves of their departed friends, and cover them with black and white pebbles.

† The charm of *tattao* consists in hiding upon the grave, [565] or in any part of the *fytoca*, some portion of the wearing apparel of an inferior relation of the deceased, in consequence of which that relation will sicken and die; or, it may be bu-

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668 the better to convince them of this, he feigned
754 to imagine that the bits of buried gnatoo, &c.
634 must have been hidden there by some dogs in
661 their play: by expressing himself in this way, he was in hopes of emboldening the conspirators to proceed with less caution in their plan, under the idea that he was off his guard. All this precaution, however, and studied policy, were unnecessary, as no signs of conspiracy became evident, and, perhaps, no conspiracy existed.
712 In the mean time, the building and fortifying the garrison with extra ditches went on with dispatch, and, in a short time, was completed to the perfect satisfaction of Finow.

486 Shortly after the fortress was finished, a canoe
628 arrived from the Hapai islands with Tonga-
634 mana, a chief of the line of Tooitonga, who
651 came from Toobó Toa, with a request to know
643 how the *inachi** was to be sent to Tooitonga, seeing that Finow had declared that no communication whatever was to be kept up with Ha-
[292] pai. As all on board were habited in mats,
[301] with leaves of the ifi tree round their necks, as a token of submission, and that they came upon
486 a religious duty, they were permitted to land.
628 After having presented cava to several conse-
634 crated houses, they came before Finow, and

765 * The annual tribute of the first fruits of each island, to
276 Tooitonga.

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presented some to him, and then opened to him the subject of their mission, stating that they came with a request from Toobó Toa, that he would grant him permission to present himself at Vavaoo, to pay his last respects to the memory of the late king, by performing the usual ceremonies at his grave; hoping that, although Finow seemed determined to cut off all communication with the Hapai islands, that still he would not carry his decree to such an extent as to form an insuperable bar to the performance of a religious duty, for that he (Toobó Toa) wished to take his last farewell of a great chief, who, while living, he so highly esteemed, and whose memory he had now so much reason to respect. After Finow had heard the subject of the embassy, he said, in reply, that he should consult his chiefs and matabooles as to what measures he ought to take, and would return a definitive answer as soon as possible. Tongamana and his party then rose up and went down to the beach, where their canoe was, and passed the night in the canoe-house.

Immediately after they had departed, Finow held a council with his chiefs and matabooles, the result of which was, that Toobó Toa should be allowed to send the *inachi*, provided Tongamana's canoe only was sent, and that this particular canoe should be allowed to come on any

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after occasion, upon condition that there were no more men on board than should be sufficient to constitute a crew; or, if he encroached upon this law, the canoe was never to be allowed to come again: but the question regarding Toobó Toa's coming was reserved for a future opportunity. This resolution was made, partly from religious motives, and partly to shew the Hapai people that they entertained no fears of them, but chiefly, perhaps, to demonstrate to Toobó Toa, how well provided and well armed they were against all attacks from a foreign enemy.

The following morning, at cava, this resolution respecting the celebration of the *inachi*, on the part of the Hapai people, was communicated to Tonga-mana, upon which he departed immediately, on his return to the Hapai islands. As soon as Toobó Toa heard the permission granted by Finow, he ordered the tributes from the different islands (intended for the *inachi*) to be collected together, and put on board Tonga-mana's canoe. At the same time, the inhabitants of Tofooa, an island belonging to Tooitonga, eager to send their tribute for the *inachi*, also dispatched a canoe to accompany that of Toobó Toa; and although this was contrary to Finow's strict injunction (that only Tonga-mana's canoe should come on this expedition), still they flattered themselves that,

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small canoes to the outer islands of Hafoolou How*, to watch the arrival of Toobo Toa, and to return with immediate notice of this event to Vavaoo, which they did as soon as they saw three canoes which hove in sight. The notice being given to Finow, he sent back several of his own canoes to meet those of Toobó Toa, with orders that the Hapai canoes should not be allowed to advance farther than the neighbouring islands, but that they should bring Toobó Toa and his party along with them up the creek to Felletoa, in the Vavaoo canoes. This was accordingly done, and Toobo Toa, and about sixty of his warriors, were landed near the fortress. They were all dressed in mats; their heads were shaven, and the leaves of the *ifi* tree were round their necks, according to the custom at burials. They were followed by several boys bearing a few spears, arrows, and clubs. They proceeded immediately to the grave of the late How, and after having sat before it a little time, with their heads bowed down, Toobo Toa arose, and taking a sharp club from one of the boys, inflicted several very severe wounds on his own head, calling out to the deceased to witness this proof of his love and fidelity, and declaring aloud that his

* The name given to Vavaoo and all its surrounding little islands.

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sentiments towards his son were the same as those he formerly entertained towards *him*, notwithstanding that his death had occasioned this seeming breach between himself and his son; and protesting how much he wished a perfect and friendly understanding with the Vavaoo people, that he might occasionally have the opportunity of preparing the cava for young Finow; and by such and other assiduities prove his respect and loyalty towards his family: but as he supposed that the chiefs of Bolotoo had decreed otherwise, he should be contented to live at the Hapai islands, and evince his remembrance of the deceased, by sending, in Tonga-mana's canoe, the produce of his own islands as presents to his son. This speech was followed by those of several of his party, all much in the same sentiment, and then, after bruising their heads, running spears and arrows through their cheeks, thighs, and breasts, they left the grave to attend to the cava of Finow. In the evening Finow, Toobó Toa, and Finow Fiji, had a short conversation together, when Toobó Toa expressed his wish to be tributary to Vavaoo, notwithstanding it might still be thought politic, as long as any of Toobo Nuha's near relations were living, to keep him and his people at a distance, acknowledging that such a separation was the only

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643 763 782 —in the same manner as Finow was carried:—but notwithstanding all this, death overtook him in the course of eight days, after six weeks illness.

634 765 About a month or six weeks after the funeral ceremonies were finished, (which will be described under the head of Religious Ceremonies, in the second volume,) Finow, who had not broken his head (as they call it) at the grave of his father, because perhaps on a public occasion it would have looked in him like an ostentatious display of what might have been thought *affected* feeling, resolved to perform this ceremony in a more private manner, accompanied only by a few of his warriors, to whom he now signified his intention. Accordingly one morning he and his men began to prepare themselves for this affair, when unfortunately an accident happened, which to us Europeans (in the present times) would not have attracted the slightest attention; but, in the estimation of these people, was a matter pregnant with the most important and serious consequences:—for at this time Mr. Mariner, on entering the house, happened to sneeze!! Immediately every one present threw down his club, for who would proceed on so important an expedition after so dire an omen*! Finow's

634 765 727 829 797

* To sneeze at the moment of setting out on an expedition argues, in their opinion, the most fatal results: even Finow

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eyes flashed with the fire of rage;—directing them full on Mr. Mariner, he cursed him with the most bitter curse, "strike your god!"—and, rising from the ground, he demanded why he came there?—to which he answered, "Your father would not have asked me that "question; and I am surprised that you are "so much unlike him, as to believe in such su-"perstitious nonsense." This was too much for him to bear, particularly before so many of his men; and snatching up a club that lay near him, he would have instantly despatched him, if some of the men present had not pushed Mr. Mariner out of the house, while the rest held Finow. Upon this the former wished him good bye*—said that if he wanted him he might send for him, adding, that he did not before know that his presence was so disagreeable. Several men then came out of the house, and hurried Mr. Mariner away, lest Finow, before his passion had time to cool, should pursue him, and effect some desperate revenge: he retired, therefore, to a house near the grave. Shortly after, Finow having consulted with his men upon the subject of Mr. Mariner's sneezing, resolved that, as he was a foreigner, and

who had a superior mind, could not efface from it the depth of the impression.

* The expression answering to this in the Tonga language is *Nofo ger nofo*, (and you remain,) and is a phrase always used in taking leave of any one.

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had different gods, his sneezing was not to be considered of any consequence: they then proceeded to the grave to perform the ceremony of head-breaking, when Finow and all his men, inspired with enthusiasm, cut and bruised their heads in a shocking manner; Finow in particular, not contented with the usual instruments, made use of a saw, the teeth of which he struck against his skull with such vehemence and goodwill, that he staggered as he went home with loss of blood. These scenes need not be further described; we have already had enough of them.

Mr. Mariner, immediately after this, proceeded to his plantation, resolving to remain there, and see how long Finow would be contented without his company. This conduct, according to the manners and customs of Europeans, appears extremely haughty, arrogant, and presumptuous: for although Finow, in this instance, was undoubtedly much to blame in putting himself in such a violent rage, and Mr. Mariner in danger of his life, on the occasion of an accident which might so easily have happened, and might have been so difficult to avoid, yet the latter being so much the inferior, we might suppose it to be his duty first to ask pardon for the offence so unintentionally committed: but this plan would be far from pro-

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leave the island on this occasion, and that Tooitonga's canoe would readily receive them, because the law which he had previously made extended not to this canoe, but only (according to the manner in which it was expressed), to that of Tonga-mana; reflecting on this, and seeing no way to prevent the evil, he openly proclaimed to the people, that if any wished to go and reside at Hapai, they had the opportunity of going in Tooitonga's canoe, but that they would not be permitted to return to Vavaoo. No one, however, thought proper to leave the island.

After the ceremony of *inachi*, the canoe of Tonga-mana was sent away with permission to bring Toobo Toa, and any of his chiefs that thought proper to come, even although they filled more than one canoe, provided they only staid one day at Vavaoo, just to perform the ceremonies at the grave of the late How. For the king began now to consider that it would be bad policy to impose too many restrictions on the admission of the Hapai people, as it would indicate want of strength, and a certain degree of apprehension; and on the other hand, as the fortress was very strong, and able to resist almost any adverse force, he had not so much occasion to be under alarm.

[103] In the mean time Finow dispatched several

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4. Peculiarity of the mourning for his decease.

5. Tooitonga is not circumcised, as all the other men are, unless he goes to foreign islands to undergo this ceremony; nor is he tattowed.

6. Peculiarities of speech, used in regard to Tooitonga; for instance, if the king or any chief but Tooitonga be sick, they say he is *ténga tángi*, but Tooitonga being sick, he is said to be *booloóhi*: so with many other words that are used exclusively for him, and which will be noticed hereafter.

These things are mentioned in this place, merely to afford an idea of the high veneration in which Tooitonga is held; for to whom but the greatest personage can such peculiarities belong? Notwithstanding his high rank, however, he has comparatively but very little absolute power, which extends in a direct and positive manner only to his own family and attendants: as to his property, he has somewhat more than the generality of the nobles, but much less than the king, who by his arbitrary sovereignty can lay claim to almost any thing.

Thus all that can be said in this place of Tooitonga is, that he is by far the greatest *Egi*, having the credit of a high divine original, and that all respect and veneration is therefore due to him.

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766 connection between these different meanings.
192 When Tooitonga is ill, the intercessions with the gods for his recovery are the same, though
766 perhaps in a greater degree, as are made on
763 the illness of other high chiefs: prayers are offered up; priests become inspired; some children have their little fingers sacrificed; others
766 are strangled, &c. When he is dead, his body
764 is washed with oil and water, as usual; his widows come to mourn over him, &c.; and, ac-
[768] cording to the former custom, his chief widow should be strangled, but whether on the day of his death or of his burial Mr. Mariner does not know. His *fytoca*, or burial-place, is of the
[302] same form as that of other chiefs. The day after his death, (which is the day of his burial) every individual at every island, man, woman, and child, has his head closely shaved: this is a peculiarity, and so is the custom of depositing some of his most valuable property along with the body in the grave, such as beads, whales' teeth, fine Hamoa mats, &c.; so that his family burying-place, at the island of Tonga, where all his ancestors have been buried, must have become very rich; for no native would dare to commit the sacrilege of theft. The ceremony of interment is exactly
766 the same as that of the king. The mourning
765 is also the same, viz. old ragged mats, with

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leaves of the *ifi* tree round the neck: but for Tooitonga the time of mourning is extended to four months; the mats being generally left off at the end of nearly three, whilst the leaves are still retained for another month. The *táboo* for touching his body, or any thing that he had on when he died, extends to at least ten months, and for his nearest relations fifteen months. (See Vol. I. p. 141.) Every man neglects to shave his beard for at least one month; and during that time merely oils his body at night, but not his head. The female mourners remain within the *fytoca* about two months, night and day, only retiring occasionally to the neighbouring temporary houses, to eat, &c. It will be seen, that what we have already related of these ceremonies differs in many respects, some in kind, and all in degree, from those attending the burial of the king: but those we are about to describe are altogether peculiar to Tooitonga's funeral.

In the afternoon of the day of burial, the body being already in the *fytoca*, almost every man, woman, and child, provided with a *tómë** and a piece of *holáta*†, sit down at about eighty

* A certain part of the cocoa-nut tree, of which torches are made.

† Part of the stem of the banana or plantain tree, used to receive the ashes falling from lighted torches.

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yards from the grave: in the course of an hour the multitude collects, probably to above three thousand, all clothed in old mats, &c. and seated as just stated. One of the female mourners now comes out of the *fytoca*, and advances in front, where she calls out to the people, saying *mo too, bea ofi my*, Arise ye, and approach; whereupon the people get up, and advancing about forty yards, again sit down: two men behind the grave now begin to blow conch shells, and six others, with large lighted torches, about six feet high, and six inches thick, (made of bundles of *tómēs*), next advance forward from behind the *fytoca*, descend the mount, and walk round one after another several times, between the *fytoca* and the people, waving their flaming torches in the air; they then begin to ascend the mount, at which moment all the people rise up together, and suddenly snap their *bolátas*, nearly at the same time, producing a considerable crash: they then follow the men with the torches, in a single line, ascending the mount and walking round the *fytoca*, as they pass the back of which the first six men deposit on the ground their extinguished torches, and the rest their *tómēs* and *bolátas*, the mourners within thanking them for providing these things: thus they proceed round, and return to their places and sit down.

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sit down. The matabocle, who has the direction of the ceremonies, now advances in front of the people, and orders them to divide themselves in parties, according to their districts; which being done, he gives to one party the business of clearing away the bushes, grass, &c. from one side of the grave, and to another to do the same in regard to another part, a third to remove such and such rubbish, &c. so that the whole neighbourhood of the *fytoca* becomes perfectly clear: this being done, all the people return to their respective temporary houses.

Soon after dark, certain persons stationed at the grave begin again to sound the conchs, while others chant partly in an unknown language*, and partly in Hamoa, a sort of song, or rather a piece of recitative. While this is going on, a number of men in the neighbourhood get ready to come to the grave, to perform a part of the ceremony which the reader will not think altogether consonant with the

* The natives can give no account of what this language is, nor how they originally came to learn the words. It has been handed down from father to son, among that class of people whose business it is to direct burial ceremonies. None of them understand the words. It begins thus: *too fia o chi tóccalów eio chi toccalów ca me fafángo eio manáve táwto, &c.* There are several Tonga words among it, and in all probability it is old or corrupted Tonga, though no sense can now be made of it.

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high character for cleanliness which we have given the natives: it must be considered, however, a religious rite, standing upon the foundation of very ancient custom. These men, about sixty in number, assemble before the grave, and wait farther orders. The chanting being finished, and the conchs having ceased to blow, one of the mourners comes forward, seats herself outside the *fytoca*, and addresses the people thus: "Men! ye are gathered here to perform the duty imposed on you; bear up, and let not your exertions be wanting to accomplish the work:" having said this, she retires into the *fytoca*. The men now approach the mount (it being dark), and (if the phrase is allowable) perform their devotions to *Cloacina*, after which they retire. As soon as it is day-light, the following morning, the women of the first rank (wives and daughters of the greatest chiefs), assemble with their female attendants, bringing baskets, one holding one side, and one the other, advancing two and two, with large shells to clear up the depositions of the over night; and in this ceremonious act of humility there is no female of the highest consequence refuses to take her part: some of the mourners in the *fytoca* generally come out to assist, so that in a very little while the place is made perfectly clean: this is re-

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peated the fourteen following nights, and as punctually cleared away by sun-rise every morning. No persons but the agents are allowed to be witnesses of these extraordinary ceremonies, at least it would be considered highly indecorous and irreligious to be so. On the sixteenth day, early in the morning, the same females again assemble; but now they are dressed up in the finest *gnatoo*, and most beautiful Hamoa mats, decorated with ribbons and with wreaths of flowers round their necks: they also bring new baskets, ornamented with flowers, and little brooms very tastefully made: thus equipped, they approach, and act as if they had the same task to do as before, pretending to clear away the dirt, though no dirt is now there, and take it away in their baskets. They then return to the *mooa*, and resume their mourning mats and leaves of the *ifi* tree. Such are the transactions of the fifteen days; every day the ceremony of the burning torches being also repeated. The natives themselves used to express their regret that the filthy part of these ceremonies was necessary to be performed, to demonstrate their great veneration for the high character of Tooitonga, and that it was the duty of the most exalted nobles, even of the most delicate females of rank, to perform the meanest and most disgusting offices, rather than the sa-

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766 cred ground in which he was buried should re-
765 main polluted.

[514] For one month, from the day of burial, greater or less quantities of provisions are
766 brought every day, and shared out to the peo-
765 ple. On the first day a prodigious quantity is
261 supplied; but on every succeeding day a less quantity, gradually decreasing till the last, when, comparatively, a very small portion is
[784] brought. The expenditure, and we may say waste of provisions, is, however, so great, as to require a *táboo* to be laid on certain kinds of provisions, (see Vol. I. p. 112), which lasts about eight or ten months; and at the end of that time the ceremony of *fuccalahi* is performed to remove it.

784 TA'BOO.—This word has various shades of signification: it means sacred or consecrated to a god, having the same signification as *fucca égi:* it means prohibited or forbidden, and is applied not only to the thing prohibited, but to the prohibition itself, and frequently (when it is in sacred matters), to the person who breaks
784 the prohibition. Thus if a piece of ground or
778 a house be consecrated to a god, by express declaration, or the burial of a great chief, it is said to be *táboo*; the like if a canoe be consecrated, which is frequently done, that it may be more safe in long voyages, &c. As it is

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764 As the body is lying awaiting burial, people come with gifts of mats. Much of this material is placed under the body, but when the time comes for burial it is taken away, and distributed. The body is wrapped in a big piece of native cloth (*ngatu*) rubbed over with oil; round this is wrapped a mat of the kind called *fihu*, and another large piece of *ngatu* on the outside. When the body has been thus arrayed in its grave clothes, it is placed with the head resting on a roll of *ngatu* wrapped in a *fihu*. An European pillow may be used, but never the ordinary wooden pillow (*kali*). While the body is lying awaiting burial, those about it keep waving, waving over it, [824] as though waving away flies. A plant (*uhi*) peculiarly effective in warding off supernatural beings is very appropriate to this use. Today European handkerchiefs or pieces of cloth are commonly used. This waving is more or less kept up, as circumstances permit, while the body is being borne to the cemetery, and as the corpse is lying beside the grave awaiting the actual interment. Handkerchiefs and cloth for this waving are provided by the family of the deceased.

The grave is not filled in with ordinary soil, but with sand from the seashore. This sand is brought up from the beach in baskets by a crowd 764 of people. At the beach those of inferior social rank are likely to be thrown into the sea and ducked, clothes and all. As they return to the village after 565 their work is done the women of lower social status may have their hair cut by the crowd. All this is taken quite good-naturedly. I have seen, at the funeral of a high chief, his widow, a middle-aged woman, go down into the sea, fully clothed and hair loosed. Sometimes, too, the people of inferior social rank were burned and cut at funerals. At times the burns were in more or less regular patterns.

767 The concluding task in the actual arrangement of the grave is the bringing and placing of coarse gravel and round pebbles, usually black, though there are green pebbles on the grave of the King Taufaahau, George Tupou I, which are said to have been brought from Fiji. This task is in charge of one who is *fahu* to the dead, and to him will be brought the kava and food proper to the occasion. If the right person cannot be present, a share of the food and kava will be taken to him. Only a family which is not wealthy will do this work themselves.

765 Every morning for some days after the funeral there will be presentations of food and kava to the bereaved family. These offerings are called *pongipongi*, a word used of other ceremonial presentations of food and kava. The length of time for which this is continued depends on the rank and importance of the family concerned. On each actual occasion of the bringing of *pongipongi* the biggest chief present will be the one to whom it is given.

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Empty graves are disliked; they are a threat to the living. When a new vault is made—the rock-lined vaults of great chiefs take some time to construct, the grave of an ordinary man can be quickly dug—a stone or a wooden pillow will be put into it, lest the ghosts seek an inhabitant for it by taking off someone from among the living. It is related that when one of the Tui Tonga was being buried a *haa tufunga* man was imprisoned in the vault with him. The vault could not be opened to release him, for to do so would have meant that it was being opened to receive the newly appointed successor of the dead king. So the unlucky man was left in the vault to die. This man should have had certain duties in connection with the presentation of the *pongipongi* each morning, but his place was vacant. So a messenger went each morning for seven or eight days to the grave and reported the gifts that were brought, and the imprisoned *matapule* cried out the appropriate thanks. Then there came a day when no response was heard from the vault, and the living concluded that the man was dead, and a successor was appointed.

Where there is only a grave to be dug the digging is the last task undertaken in the preparation for the burial. Should a funeral have to be postponed to the day following that on which it was expected, although the grave has been dug, the grave is not left open over night, but is filled in, and re-opened the following day. There is a dislike to starting a new burial ground, lest the ghosts of the few buried there be lonely, and seek to increase their company.

Hocart (25) says that in Samoa he asked the question, "What is an *aitu?*" and got the answer, "The man who is dead." A Tongan girl whom I asked, "Who are the *tevolo?*" replied, "The people who are dead." These ghosts appear in various forms to the living. It is said that it was once the custom for the friends of a man who had died to come to the house where he had died, after his burial, and spread mats on the floor, and wait till some creature crawled on to the mats. This creature, whatever it might be, was carefully wrapped up, and taken away and kept. It was the dead man's spirit, *laumalie*. (For fuller details see 20; 28; 37; 40; 10, pp. 136-142.)

## Song of Tukulua[1]

### Na'e fa'u 'i he ene mahaki'ia

To e totoka peau hahano,
Langa hoto 'ofa ki he huni vao;
Malimali pe siale tuikako,
Kolo atu kuou to ki lalo.
Koe vaka e 'ikai kei ato
Ka koloto e mala ni kuo mao;

When the calm mists fall I am filled with yearning,
With welling desire for the forest *huni;*
Smiling are the wreaths of *siale,*[2]
I think of you, I who am fallen down.
The boat has not yet come to land,
But I cannot escape this fate that is planned;

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539 761 287 **501. Hange ha mate mutukia:** Like a cut off death.

*Mutukia* means trimmed, as for example the edges of the native cloth which are trimmed during manufacture. Thence *mate mutukia* means sudden, unexpected, death. The expression is used of the unexpected occurrence of a painful or disastrous event.

539 764 **502. Matamatalelei fakafaitoka:** Beautiful like a cemetery.

People may adorn and care for a cemetery but however well it looks it is still not a place that one feels much at home in. So used of that which is beautiful but fails to evoke the feeling of appreciative comfort that makes one desire to linger in its vicinity.

539 768 183 **503. Noo ua poaki:** Begging off being strangled.

Refers to the strangling of victims on the death of a chief or other circumstances of a like nature where a human victim was called for. This taking of life seemed a quite proper thing and ordinarilly evoked no popular dissent. This expression signifies literally that the individual to whom was assigned the leading part in the tragedy sought to evade his duty by an appeal to the people. So the phrase comes to mean attempting to beg off a duty which should be carried out.

539 764 521 **504. Tala fai ki tano:** Speech made to burying-ground.

Exhortation, commands, or other expressions directed towards the cemetery where there is none able to take heed and profit by what is said. So of totally unprofitable discourse.

539 764 763 **505. To hono aveave:** Plant his *aveave*.

A branch of the *aveave* (*Codiaeum variegatum* Pratt), was stuck into the ground in a cemetery to mark the spot where a grave was to be dug. When it was clear that a sick person was about to die a man was told to put in the *aveave*, which he did as a mark to direct those whose business it was to see to the digging of the grave and carrying out of the burial. The *aveave* was left at the grave to grow. The expression, therefore, is equivalent to saying that so-and-so is nearing his end, that it is all up with him.

It is interesting to note that a grave was not left open. The digging of the grave was one of the last pieces of work done in preparation for the interment and never done before the sick person was actually dead, though the *aveave* might be planted while the patient was still alive. In recent years we have seen a coffin made for an old lady, who though frail had vitality sufficient to do a little work even outside the house, and who survived by many months the completion of her coffin, which stood meanwhile on the side verandah of her house. Should an interment be postponed till the day after the grave had been dug, the hole will be filled in and dug out again on the next day. (See No. 498.)

539 765 276 574 43. **506. Tuui tae fakakava:** Visiting mourners without kava.

In visits to the friends and relatives of a person recently deceased it is customary to take gifts to the mourners, particularly to present them with

8: Collocott & Havea M,I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9



kava. A visit without kava would lack the most important article which the comforters should take. This phrase indicates a visit unaccompanied by the "real thing," that which is the real substance of the ceremony. Generally used of that which appears all right but is more or less of a hollow pretence. 539 765 276 574 431

**507. Vai kauaki:** Water (for) dying man. 539 763

Used of that which is given to a dying man to satisfy any longing he may have. If he wants a drink of water give it to him. Literally it refers to giving the dying whatever they may want when it is obvious that nothing can do any good or any harm and that by satisfying any desire expressed at such a time the last moments may be made happier. We have also seen the phrase in a context that seemed to imply that the draught of water was life-giving; but probably the idea is that it restored the spirits of the dying man without giving him any real chance of life. Comforting, soothing. [271]

## WRONG-DOING; RETRIBUTION

**508. E lavea ae taka nofo i he ngaue ae taka tuu:** The good will be wounded by the conduct of the bad; wrong-doing which involves the innocent as well as the guilty in punishment. 539 183

*Taka nofo* and *taka tuu*, which mean literally, "he who sits" and "he who stands," perhaps get their meanings of good and bad, as applied to conduct, from the idea of one who sits quietly attending to his own business, and of one who must always be up and gadding round into mischief. Perhaps they refer primarily to the behavior proper to the kava ring where all should sit except when it is necessary to get up to perform some office connected with the ceremony.

**509. Faifaimalie a nunua:** Retribution coming on slowly.

Although the retribution of evil deeds seems to tarry, yet come it will.

**510. Jii pe lele ae kaihaa kae fai:** The thief's run is but short, but it is done.

If a thief is discovered he must make a bolt. Even if he is unable to run far and is soon caught he may as well make a dash for it and try to get away. Not a very successful attempt, but still a try.

**511. Kaihaa tangi tauloto:** A thief who wants to *touloto*. 539 482 685

*Tauloto* is to carry two burdens or baskets slung on the ends of a stick over the shoulder. If a man desires to steal he will be well advised to limit his depredations to what can easily be comprised in a single bundle and carried without difficulty. If he takes so much that he has to make up two bundles and carry them at the ends of a stick his chances of evading discovery and capture are much lessened. Not only so, but if caught he is much more likely to be forgiven if he is getting off with a swag of moderate size. If you are out for theft there is no sense in over-doing it.

12: Vason M-3 (1797-1801) 1810
OU9 Tonga OU9



were strangled at the Fiatooka, or burying place, at the time his body was deposited there. The Fiatooka was a large inclosed space with a lofty funeral pile in the middle, of a pyramidical form, round which, the bodies of the Chiefs had been laid for ages past, in a solemn range of rude dignity. The space round the tomb was on this occasion a palæstra for savage gladiators. Hundreds ran about it, with ferocious emulation, to signalize their grief for the venerated chief, or their contempt of pain and death, by inflicting on themselves the most ghastly wounds, and exhibiting spectacles of the greatest horror. Thousands, ere the period of mourning was over, fought with each other, and cut themselves with sharp instruments, to testify by bloody scars, their sorrow for their beloved Moomooe,

It was an awful scene indeed! Night after night, we heard for some weeks, the horrid sound of the conch-shell, rousing these deluded creatures to these dreadful rites of mourning for the dead; and shrieks, and clashing arms, and the rushing and violence of the multitude, re-echoed round our abode, and rendered it a scene of continual horror and alarm.

At length these shocking ceremonies ceased, and all the chiefs assembled for the purpose of electing a supreme.

Toogahowe, who by his superior prowess in the field, had awed the neighbouring Islands as well as Tongataboo, and had placed his Father Moomooe

12: Vason M-3 (1797-1801) 1810
OU9 Tonga OU9



people resort for this purpose. They are frequently kept up till midnight, when performed in a chief's house, and sometimes till morning, by an interchange of performers, who alternately retire to rest, and rise again to dance. 175 595

So fond are they of this amusement that they dance almost on all occasions. However extravagantly they have mourned for the dead, they generally terminate their grief with this ceremony of joy: in which I have seen the women so eager that they have forgotten all sense of decorum and thrown off all incumbrance of dress for greater freedom and diversion. [165] [292]

This is the general mode of life at Tongataboo. They never rise, but the Kava is prepared, and distributed in the exact order I have described; and immediately the tackhangers call for the cooks in the Badoo, or Kitchen, who bring the baked yams, and present them to the guests. If there is no serious business for the chiefs, indolent slumbers, or the amusements of conversation and choice, fill up the middle part of the day, which is however sometimes diversified with boxing, or other athletic exercises; and luxurious festivities close the evening. 175 512

Such an indulgent life, however, is only in the power of the chiefs. The lower classes, as will be farther shown, are obliged to labour, not only for themselves, but for their superiors; and, after all, 175 565 [512]

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai



spending the day plaiting mats. They will sit down to their main meal of the day some time during the evening when Hausia returns from the bush carefully carrying the women's portion of the food baked during the day and set aside before the men began to eat their bush feast.

Avai's household has not been working in the bush. The men are busy roasting a large pig which will occupy the position of honour in a gift they are preparing to carry to the village of Makave, some three hours distant. Avai's mother's brother's wife died in Makave last November (three months ago). It is now time for Avai's mother to remember this event by the gift to the deceased's family of a large pig, an equally large root of green *kava* and a quantity of bark cloth. The party set off for Makave about noon; Avai with the *kava*-root and his sister on one horse, a friend Tevita with the roast pig on a second, and Sesoni (cross-cousin to Avai's mother) with the bark cloth on the third horse. The walking party was made up of Avai's mother, her husband and her daughter, the local pastor of the Church of Tonga (the family church) and the pastor's son. When the party arrives on the outskirts of Makave, the pig will be slung on a stout pole and carried thus on the shoulders of two of the men to the honoured house. The party is all dressed in best Sunday clothes. The pig is large and juicily fat. It will make a brave show as the men stagger with it through the village, going the longest and most roundabout way until the procession comes at last to rest before the bereaved household. This is as it should be. For why, says the villager, trouble to implement social and economic obligations if all do not know, talk about, and appreciate your generosity?

Biukala and Beni Kautai and their two households, about twenty men, women and children, have had a holiday today. They went for a " picnic " to a distant beach, a feast really, to honour relatives visiting from a distant village. They went with the early morning tide in a borrowed, flat-bottomed copra-boat, and returned late this evening when the tide was high again. We hear the laughing, shouting party as it returns across the lagoon and then as it straggles in a long line up the hill from the beach, children and adults excitedly talking among themselves. A little while later when we walk past Biukala's house all is silent. Young and

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
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many uses in Pangai. Each household keeps an adequate amount on hand to meet all possible emergencies. It is still largely used as bedding and is a necessity for any of the more formal gift-occasions. It is *tapu* to make bark cloth during a mourning period set for a chief, noble, or for members of the royal family. This *tapu* mourning period ranges from two to three months for a minor noble up to at least six months for a great noble and a period of more than a year after the death of royalty. No bark cloth may be made until someone in authority, the governor of Vava'u for instance, or the son of the deceased noble, notifies the village overseer that the mourning period is at an end. The overseer in turn relays this information to the women of the village.

A few women may meet together informally to make bark cloth near the house of the leader of the group. The more formal groups however, meet in a special house in the centre of the village which was built for the making of bark cloth and is used for no other purpose. This house is in European style. It was built about twelve years ago, all the households in the village contributing the required money, material, and labour. When such a formal party is organized, the women proceed to the bush to collect bark and dye-materials. These are obtained by each woman from mulberry-trees and dye-plants growing on the plantation of her husband or another relative. About three days later, after these materials have been prepared for use, the women meet together in the public house *(fale kautaha)*. There they are addressed by the village overseer who urges the women to work hard, to work quietly and to avoid scandalous or quarrelsome talk. Women from other villages may be invited by their Pangai friends to come and assist in the work. Each visitor assists the woman who has been responsible for her invitation.

The men meanwhile prepare large ovens of food together with relishes of pork, fish, and chicken. After the women have beaten out a specified length of bark cloth (any length from four to forty fathoms, as agreed upon), they notify the men who thereupon open the ovens and serve the food. The women eat again after a further specified length of cloth has been completed. The work proceeds quickly under the stimulus of group activity. A group of say, sixteen women

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
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764 276 574 767 members drink from the cups provided for the circle. After one round of *kava* is finished, the undertaker makes a brief speech which runs as follows:

[537] [539]

> "Thank you, O chiefly people, for coming to the funeral of this man. Now he rests quietly in his last resting-place. Tomorrow you will all gather together again. We shall finish this funeral on the morrow. We shall finish the work of making the deceased a chiefly person. Then everything will be finished as it should be. Now there is nothing more to do."

[576] The references to chiefly people in these words are merely polite exaggerations indicating respect for the deceased and respect also for those present. They mean, "important people," not people of noble rank, for none in this commoner village has any illusions over his ultimate status in this world.

764 574 The *kava*-circle breaks up. Each man or family represented goes home with his or its division of the food which is eaten with other members of the family.

765 On the afternoon of this day, the family of the deceased goes back to the cemetery to spend the afternoon wailing and chanting.

Early next morning, the family and its relatives go to the cemetery at dawn. The men clear away the weeds from the grave. The women go to the nearest beach, bring back clean sand and coral-pebbles to strew on the grave. When this decorating work is finished, another feast is held.

765 574 276 767 Uncooked food, generally ripe bananas, ripe plantains, sugar cane, melons, papaia, pineapples, bread, is collected together and placed in an open space near the cemetery. A *kava*-circle is formed with the undertaker presiding. Again, when the *kava* is clear and ready for serving, the undertaker orders the food to be divided. After one round, he makes a further speech of thanks to all those who have attended and helped with the decorating of the grave.

765 602 Commencing with the night following the burial and for the following ten nights, there is a strict mourning-period (*mohe* or *nofoaki putu*) for all the close relatives of the deceased. Only the women sleep in the bereaved house. By day, men and women work bringing food from the bush to feed the group; part of each day is also spent carrying

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
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grave-pebbles and sand to decorate further the grave. On the tenth day, the close male relatives prepare a large feast to bring this mourning period to a close *(fakamalele ae putu)*. The food is kept until nightfall when all the young boys and girls in the village, all the unmarried youth, that is, from puberty onwards, are invited to come to the deceased's house there to dance, sing and be joyful. The older people sit drinking *kava* and watching the fun. After the first making of the *kava*, the feast is divided among all present, young and old. The merry-making and *kava*-drinking continue until an early hour in the next morning. Then the people gather up their food-divisions and return home. The period of mourning is over. Relatives return to their own villages, if they have come from afar. The everyday life of the village can renew itself.

For the death of an important individual in the village, this ten-day mourning-period is considered sufficient. During this time it is *tapu* for anyone in the village to sing, dance, or make bark cloth. For an important noble, the mourning-period may last for six months or more. The status of the deceased is shown by the length of his mourning-period and the consequent *tapu* on any joyful activities or on bark cloth making.

Semisi, the resident village undertaker *(ha'a tufunga)* is of no high social class. He inherited his skill from his father who was undertaker before him. Semisi would not attempt to embalm a body. He limits his job to the arrangement of the corpse in the house (if this is necessary) and to a general superintendence over the burial. For his services Semisi is paid with bark cloth, mats, and food. Semisi has the right to the honorific name of Manafa, a name conferred on him by the high chief Lepakuku of the village of Leimatua. This name not only increases Semisi's importance in the village—it is the name by which he is called in a *kava* circle—but it gives him the right to practice undertaking anywhere in Tonga. In other words, it makes him a sort of recognized member of the informal guild of Tongan undertakers. After each burial, Semisi is in a *tapu* state for two or three days. He eats by himself and does not take any part in food-preparation. An undertaker of the highest social class must

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
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old woman's broad jokes. These sallies are directed at the cause of the infant's death which the old woman thought was due to over-indulgence in sugar-cane. While a pad of bark cloth is pushed under the infant's chin to hold up its head, the mourners speculate quietly on the fate that has overtaken the mother's offspring: eight born, four alive, four dead.

The two old women wipe the dead body and oil it, then wrap it in bark cloth. Finally the mother returns with mats. The body is laid out on the floor and covered with a fine mat up to the neck. The mother now starts wailing over her child, calling out for her brother (the *fa'e tangata* of the dead child) and regretting he is not present. The grandmother chants phrases expressing the wish that the child should have life again. After each call she bends over the child and kisses its face. The father comes in with fly-switches for the mourners. He sits by the head of his child crying quietly. The grandmother soon stops wailing. The mother continues for a further two hours. Suddenly, the father remembers that he is without his ceremonial skirt. He goes off to his house to find it and put it on.

In the afternoon, the pastor of the church comes to the house and holds a prayer meeting over the body. In the evening and all night long, members of the church, of the family and relatives sing hymns and pray. The father digs the grave during the night.

On the following morning at dawn, after regular church attendance, all the men and women of the village dress in their ceremonial skirts and go to the house of death. Presently the procession moves to the cemetery, the body of the dead child carried in the arms of the father's brother. There follow at the grave prayers, hymn-singing and then the quick burial.

The women of the family of the dead child return to the mother's mother's house where the women form a *kava*-circle. The men of the family meet in the mother's brother's house for *kava*. This division of the sexes is unusual for a funeral *kava*-circle. The reason given in this case was that the mother's mother's house was too small for all the mourners. Some of the women boiled food which was later

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai



765 858 574 276 766 served to all the mourners. This again is most unusual for a funeral-feast, which should be a large quantity of oven-baked food including the inevitable pig. However, the village overseer had suggested that because the deceased was an infant and because he had died two days after Christmas and thus in the middle of the holiday-making time, it would be advisable not to trouble with an oven. The parents, being poor, were only too glad to acquiesce in such advice. The mourners disbanded about midday. There was no ten-day mourning period.

766 858 This account emphasizes the somewhat casual fashion in which an immature infant may be buried as compared with the burial of an important adult. It must be remembered, however, that the family of the dead child had apparent right to be more casual than most village families would have been in similar circumstances. This was their fourth infant dead. None of the remaining children in this family looked the picture of anything except ill-health and hence the parents could probably expect further deaths among their offspring. It is most likely, however, that little of this casualness would be evident if death had happened to take the first-born and favourite son of affectionate parents.

761 152 Presumably like most people everywhere, the villagers infuse dynamic quality into the observance of custom according to the strength of attitude and feeling that they experience. [765] [594] Where death is not unexpected, or where family status is not at stake, mourning may become casual. Where it is unexpected, or where deep affection is involved, or where family status is at test, then observance of custom becomes charged with all the emotional quality of deeply-felt experience.

## MEDICINE

759 759 For most of his aches, pains, and sicknesses the villager prefers treatment from one of the recognized experts in the village. [743] [177] He consents to treatment from the white doctor only if his trouble obstinately refuses to yield to Tongan types of cure, and some friend or relative, more sceptical of Tongan medicine, can persuade him to visit the hospital in Neiafu. In general, however, the villager probably feels

753 775

30: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1962 OU9 Tonga OU9



nately been described by early travellers with a considerable amount of detail concerning ceremonies unfamiliar to the present generation of Tongans. The European custom of wearing black clothing and black arm bands as a sign of mourning is now universal and carried through much more completely than is usual amongst Europeans, especially in these hot tropical latitudes. In addition the old Tongan practice of wearing a ragged mat is still adhered to. A mat, other than the cloth loincloth, is a mark of respect to superior rank. In the item of the mat as a sign of mourning close relatives of the deceased will wear a ragged mat, but those not nearly akin to the deceased will wear a good one. As a mark of respect to a chief if a mat be not obtainable any sort of belt seems to answer the purpose. A few years ago I was working with some boys a few hundred yards from the beach. The king was on a visit to our island and happened to be standing at the time near the beach. None of the boys would even remotely approach the place where His Majesty was without first girding himself with a piece of mat or some substitute. Some of the boys wound a length of a creeping vine about themselves. Old travellers have noted that, in the presence of a chief, people who happened to be clad about the shoulders turned their clothing back to the waist. It was tabu to have the native cloth (ngatu) about the body, but the mat (fala) around the waist, even if it extended higher up the body than was permissible for the cloth, was not only allowed but enjoined as a mark of respect. The leaves of the ifi (Tahitian chestnut) around the neck were a sign of the utmost respect, and regularly worn by those who had a great boon to ask.

Anciently the disposal of the body of a man of insufficient social elevation to be possessed of a soul seems to have differed considerably from the elaborate ceremonial which marked the interment of a high chief. This is only to be expected, as the chief's body has been the temple of a spirit which lives on in Bulotu, although apparently capable of revisiting his earthly shrine, or in some other way exerting influence in its vicinity. The commoner's body was not the seat of a soul and its neighborhood was less likely to be made uncomfortable by ghostly disturbances. This apparently straightforward division into chiefs and commoners is not so simple as it looks. It would

45: Aoyagi E-5 (1962-1963) 1966 009 Tonga 009
Nukuleka



The next morning, they take off the white cloth and *feta'u*, and wrap the corpse again with bark cloth of *launima*, named *kumifonua*. Further, they wrap it with all the mats and bark cloths they can afford and all the gifts the callers have given. When a coffin is not used, the corpse is wrapped with *kumifonua*, is put on a ladder shaped frame, (*fata*), and is then carried by men, six or eight consisting of distant relatives, to the graveyard. If the dead person is a man, a *fata* can not be carried by his younger brother and children, and if a woman, her brother can not touch it. Close relations would also not carry it. While others sing hymns, neighbours, friends and remote relations dig the grave and carry up white sand from the beach. When the funeral reaches the graveyard, the priest gives an oration. Then the coffin is lowered into the grave by remote male relations. The grave is filled with sand by those present. After burial, the *ulu i famili* makes a brief speech, expressing his thanks to the people at the cemetery and informing them of the feast if one is held.[24] For the funeral feast, *pulua*, *fa'e tangata* and the sons of the deceased make enough *umu* to distribute one basket of food to each attendant. Usually the last basket is presented to the *matapule*. Sometimes *pulua* is held on the same or sometimes on the following day of the funeral, when *kava* drinking is occasionally arranged.

Years ago, *liongi* cut their hair to show their grief and even now they do not dare to comb their hair for the same reason.[25] The family and close relations sit by the beautifully decorated grave for at least ten days. By this time, the *tapu* between brother and sister will be lifted, and the sister may tend the grave of her brother. Relations and villagers wear a big ragged mat for mourning, called *taovala putu* for ten days, but the family members of the deceased wearing it for nearly one year. For these ten days, enjoying movies or beating bark cloth are not allowed for the whole village. At the end of this period merry-making may be held and the relatives from a distance return to their home village .

## VIII — Some Concluding Observations on Ramification and Stratification

In the previous chapters, I have tried to describe the organisation and behaviour of kinship found in a Tongan village today. As I mentioned at the outset of this paper, I do not intend to analyse it theoretically, but to depict it as descriptively as possible. My reason for choosing the latter approach is mainly because there is a scarcity of information. 'Tongan Society', by E. W. Gifford, which is quoted in many papers, is of course an excellent study, but there are some descriptions in his book that we are unable to find in a Tongan village today. I suppose this is because he collected his data mainly from the noble class, and also it is thirty years since his field survey.

The most important difference, it appears to me, is in regard to *ha'a*. I have been unable to find it in Nukuleka village. Referring to commoners, Gifford pointed out that "Some commoners are not aware

24. According to Beaglehole Ha'a *tufunga*, undertaker, presides over everything in the graveyard. But the villagers say that Ha'a *tufunga* will be employed only in case of the chief's death.
25. Koch 1955: 58.

membership and may extend beyond the boundaries of the village. No local-level entity has the authority to co-ordinate the activities of these groups, to convene a village council of any sort, or to organize any other village-wide activity. In summary, the village neither functions as a political group nor is there any other group whose membership co-incides with all the inhabitants of the village. For these reasons, it is doubtful whether the Tongan village is to be regarded as a local group. Even for the isolated village-islands of Ha'apai, the only village-wide activity reported in response to my enquiries was that in some villages there is an occasional joint fish-catching expedition.[4]

In Motulahi, the closest approximation to village-wide action during the period of my fieldwork was the observance of a period of mourning when there was a death in the village.[5] For a few days after each death, no movies were shown and there was a stillness throughout the village. Usually, during the day, one hears the rhythmic note of wood striking wood as women pound bark into tapa-cloth, but this is put aside for the few days that the mourning is observed.

[4] The Beagleholes give a description of joint fishing operations (1941: 36-37).

[5] There were five deaths in the village during the period of my fieldwork: an old man, a boy, and three infants.

46: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi



621 mourning is observed. The period of such abeyance usually
765 lasts about a week (it may be less in the case of a child's death or longer if the person was of high status), and it comes to an end after the head of a bereaved fāmili has spoken with one of the leading people in the village asking him to inform people that they should resume normal activities. It should be noted here that, as far as I could ascertain, there is no underlying notion that the village is mourning the loss of one of its members; instead, the observance of a period of quiet is regarded as a proper but voluntary gesture of respect towards the bereaved.

621 While the village as a unit has little significance
823 for action, this does not mean that a village is something without meaning. On the contrary, people identify themselves to others as being of or from such-and-such a place. In doing this, however, they may name a village or island other than the one in which they are presently residing.
[184] Self-identification by reference to another village or island is especially common among people who come from the smaller and more remote islands, some of whom have a strong sense of the way of life on their island being different from and preferable to that on more sophisticated islands.[6]

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6 Conversely, I was told that on the smaller islands some people tend to emphasize the fact of their not being originally from that island.

54: Cook G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9



312 first were mostly in land and the latter by the shore of the Lagoon and for the most part below high water mark, so that to have the water tolerable it must be taken up at low water.

648 When we returned from our walk, which was not till the dusk of
262 the evening, our supper was ready, it consisted of a baked hog some fish and yams all excellent well cooked after their own method. As
513 there was nothing to amuse us after supper we followed the Custom of the Country and laid down to Sleep, our beds was a large piece of Cloth spread on the floor. The King slept in the same house as well
521 as several others. Long before day break they rose and sat chating by Moon light till it was day light; the conversation, as might well be expected, turned wholy on us, the King entertaining the Company
Frid. 27 with an account of what he had seen. As soon as it was light they all
512 went away, some one way and some a nother, but it was not long before they returned and with them several more. They now began
648 to make a bowl of Cava at which I left them to pay a Visit to Too-
276 bough Captain Furneaux's friend, who had a house hard by, which for size and neatness was exceeded by few in the place. As I had left the others so I found here, a company preparing a Morning draught.
[431] This Chief made me a present of a living hog, a baked one, a quantity of yams and a large piece of Cloth.

276 When I returned to the King I found the company drinking the second bowl of Cava. When it was out the King told Omai he was
765 going to perform a Mourning ceremony for a Son which had been
643 dead some time and desired we would acompany him. We were glad of the oppertunity expecting to see some thing new or Curious.
[292] The first thing the Chief did was to step out of the house, attended by two Women, and put on a new sute of Cloathes, or piece of Cloth, and over it an old ragged mat that might have served his great grand Father on some such like occasion: his Servants or those who attended him were all dressed in the same manner, excepting none of
[824] them having quite so ragged a Mat round them as their master.[1] Thus equiped we marched off preceded by about eight or ten persons all dressed in the same manner and with each a small green branch about his neck. The King held his in his hand till we drew near the place of rendezvouse when he tied it about his neck also. Thus we entered a small inclosure, in which was a small neat house and one
[824] man seting before it. As they entered they pulled off the green branch from round their necks and threw them away. After the King was seated the others seated them selves in the usual way before him;

[1] This was the *ta'oala*, still worn as a sort of sash-apron; the raggedness was not for normal wear, but a sign of mourning.

54: Cook G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9



afterwards more came droping in to the number of a hundred or upwards, mostly old men and all dressed as above discribed. As soon as they were all come in a large root of Cava, brought by one of the King's Servants was produced, and a bowl which held at least four or five gallons; several person went to chewing the root and this bowl was made brim full of the liquor, and several Cups were made of the Plantain leafe while it was preparing.

The first Cup was given to the King which he ordered to be given to another, the Second was brought him which he drank and the third was offered me. Afterwards as each Cup was fill'd the person who filled it asked who was to have it, and a nother named the person and to that person it was carried; thus they continued till the bowl was emptied which was before half the Company was served, yet no one seemed dissatisfied. As the bowl grew low the person who had the desposal of the liquor seemed rather at a loss to whom he should send the Cups of liquor to and frequently consulted those who sat near him. About half a dozen cups served the whole company, each as it was emptied was thrown down upon the ground where the waiters picked up and carried it to be filled again. They sat as usual with a great deal of gravity and hardly spoke to each other the whole time. All this time did we wait with some impatience, in expectation of every minute seeing the Mourning ceremony begin; when soon after the Cava was drank out, to our great surprise and disapointment they all rose up and dispersed and the King told us he was ready to attend us to the Ships. If this was a Mourning ceremony it was a strange one, perhaps it was the second, third or fourth Mourning, or what was not very uncommon Omai might have misunderstood them; for excepting the ceremony of the green branch, there was nothing in this meeting but what we saw every day.[1] But be what it would as soon as it was over we set out to return to the Ship. As we rowed down the Lagoon or inlet we met with two canoes coming in from fishing, the Chief ordered them to be called along side and took from them every fish and shell they had got, he afterward brought to two others and searched them but they had nothing; why this was done I cannot say as he had plenty of Victuals in the boat; some of this fish he after wards gave to me and some his servants sold on board the ship. As we proceeded down the Inlet we overtook a large sailing Canoe, every person in her that were upon their legs when we came up with her sat down till we were past, even the Man who steered, altho he could not manage the helm in any other position but standing. Having been informed that there was some good Water on

[1] It was in fact the mourning kava ceremony.

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but not many of the latter except what is made so by art, for they have a method of staining it so that we frequently see different colours on the same head.[1] The Women in general wear it short, but the men have it in various forms, according to fancy, it is not very uncommon to see a man with the hair cut of one half of his head and on the other half very long. When I was first at these islands, I thought it had been a universal custom for both men and Women to wear it short, and at that time I did not see above one or two exceptions, but now we saw a great many. To have the hair croped, does not arrise from custom wholy, it is a Mark of Mourning, both general and particular.[2] The amputation of the little finger and cuting, or pricking the face over the Cheek bone with a sharks tooth is done on the same account.[3] And besides this, some tho not many, inflect upon themselves a testimony of their regret for the loss of a friend or relation, *Wounds* which from the scars that remained, must have been deep and to all appearence dangerous; so that at first we thought they had been wounds received in battle. They frequently anoint thier heads and bodies with Cocoanut oil, but as it is very pure and never rancid, no disagreeable smell arises from this Custom. They have the same custom of staining their bodies as is practised at Otaheite, and with very little variation either in the Manner or Method. Thier Kings as a Mark of destinction are exempted from this custom and also from practiseing any of those bloody marks of Mourning.

Thier clothing consists of cloth, or Matting, but mostly the former,

[1] Cf. II, p. 267. Anderson elaborates on this.

[2] 'When a chief died, all his *tus* retainers "cut" (singed) off their hair as a sign of mourning (*tasunga*). The hair was not "bobbed", but was removed quite close to the scalp. . . . chiefs are said never to have cut their hair as a sign of mourning, except upon the death of the Tui Tonga or Tamaha . . .'—Gifford, *Tongan Society*, p. 199. For Gifford's '*tus* retainers' read 'kin lower in rank than the deceased'.

[3] The maltreatment of the face was certainly mourning; but neither Cook nor any of his men, except Anderson and King, ever seem to have hit on the significance of the amputation or partial amputation of the finger, as a sacrificial or intercessory rite for the life of a sick person. With Bayly, 17 May, indeed we get a triumph of misinformation, worth printing as an example of how far it is possible to go wrong: 'These people cut off the little finger of the right hand at the death of a Father or brother with this difference for a brother they cut off only one joint—but when the father dies they cut off the whole finger; When a sister dies they cut off one joint of the little Finger of the left hand, but at the death of a Mother they cut off the whole finger. For other relations they cut their hair short, & beate the cheake-bone with their knuckles till the blood run which they smear about the face & body where it remains some days & then wash themselves & the mo[u]rning is over.' King gives us sense: 'The rigour of their mourning at once shews that their Affections do not cease at the Grave & that they consider death as a great evil, for the mutilation of the little finger is as a propitiation to avert the consequences in themselves or chiefs of sickness; besides the Tooge of the men, burnt circles on the Arms of the women & their hair cut short, on the death of their relations they beat out their teeth with stones, thrust spears thro the inner part of the thigh, in the sides, below the Armpits & thro the Cheeks, whether all this can wholly arise from Affection or superstitious notions I cannot say.'

A [See 55: Anderson, this file--Analyst]

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remarkable except a Fyatocka of one house standing on an artificial mount at least thirty feet high. A little on one side there is a pretty large open Area and not far from it a good deal of uncultivated ground, which upon enquiring why it lay waste they seem'd to say belong'd to that place which was Poulahos, and not by any means to be touch'd. There was also at no great distance a number of E'toa Trees on which clung millions of the large Ternate Bats[1] making a disagreeable noise. We could not kill any at this time for want of muskets, but some that were got at Anna'mooka measur'd near three feet when the wings were extended.

On returning our host orderd the hog that had been dress'd to be brought, with several baskets of bak'd yams and some Cocoa nuts, but we found that instead of his entertaining us we were to entertain him, the property of the feast being entirely transferr'd to us his guests who were to dispose of it as we pleas'd. The person who cleand it in the morning cut it up (but not before we desird him) in a very dexterous manner with a knife of split Bamboo, dividing the several parts with such quickness and hit the joints so exactly that surpriz'd us very much. The whole was set down before us, though at least fifty pound weight, untill we took a small piece away and desir'd they would share the rest amongst the people sitting round, but it was not without a great many scruples they did that at last, and then ask'd what particular people they should give it to. They were however very well pleas'd when they found it not contrary to any custom of ours, some carrying off the portion that was given them and others eating it on the spot, but it was with great difficulty we could prevail on Futtafaihe himself to eat a small bit.

After dinner we went with Futtafaihe and five or six people who attended him to the same place where Poulaho had carried us in the morning the last time we were at Mooa, but not into the inclosure. They hung some leaves about their neck in walking to it as he had done, and when we came to a large open boat house where a few people were they threw away their leaves, sat down before it and gave their cheeks a few gentle strokes with the fist, after which they sat for about ten minutes with a very grave appearance & went away without having spoke a single word. Every person who went to this house of mourning had a mat tied over the cloth they wore which was also the case the day Poulaho went. This explaind what Poulaho had mentiond about Tooge, though from the beating only lasting a few seconds he had not been observ'd to do it; and this seems only a

[1] *Pteropus tongensis*; Cf. Bayly, II, p. 263, n. 3. This was evidently the bat that the Tongans called *fanwoto*.

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continuation of the mourning ceremony by way of condolance, for upon enquiring who it was done for they said it was a chief who had died at Va'vaoo some time ago, that they had practic'd it ever since and would do it for a considerable time longer.

In the evening we had a pig dress'd as the hog with Yams and Cocoa nuts brought for supper, and Futtafaihe finding we did not like the scruples they had made before to accept of any part of the entertainment, ask'd us immediately to share it & give it to whom we pleas'd. When supper was over abundance of cloth was brought for us to sleep in but we were a good deal disturb'd by an odd custom, at least amongst the better people, of being beat while they are asleep. Two women sat by Futtafaihe and perform'd this operation, which is call'd Tooge Tooge,[1] by beating briskly on his body and legs with both fists as if on a drum till he fell asleep, and continued it the whole night with some short intervals. After being asleep they abate a little in the strength & quickness of the beating, but resume it if the person is likely to wake, and towards the morning we found the women relievd each other by turns & went to sleep. In any other country it would be suppos'd such a practice would put an end to all rest, but here it certainly acts as an opiate and is a strong proof of what habit may effect. The noise made by this was however not the only thing that prevented our resting, for the people who slept in the house not only convers'd amongst each other frequently as in the day but all got up in the midst of the night & made a proper meal of fish and yams, which were brought to them by a person who seem'd to know very well the appointed time for such things.

## [July 1777]

TUESDAY JULY 1st. The wind N and NNW. Gentle breezes with fine weather. In the morning we set out with Futtafaihe and walk'd down the east side of the Bay to the point that is opposite Hoolaiva. The country all along this place is very well cultivated but in general not so much inclosd as at the bottom, and amongst many others that are very large we pass'd one plantane field at least a mile long which was in excellent order, every tree growing with great vigour and not a bit of grass to be seen. We found that in travelling Futtafaihe excercis'd a power, though by no means wantonly, which pointed out the great authority of some of the principal men, or is perhaps only annex'd to the royal family; for he sent to one place for fish, to another for yams &c and so on at other places, which were always brought with the greatest readiness as if he had been absolute master

[1] tukituki.

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302 over the hair. The other I believe is done in the same manner with
824 turmeric root. They are so exceeding whimsical in their method of
wearing it that it is hard to tell which is most in vogue, though the
302 greatest number perhaps are those that have it cropt short. Others
have it cut off one side of the head while the other is long, some with
only a piece cut out as far as the crown or perhaps shav'd that far,
and others have it entirely cut off except a single lock which is left
commonly on one side, or it is suffer'd to grow its full length without
any of these mutilations. The women except a few wear it short, but
the long hair is such an ornament to the last as well as the men who
wear it so that it is surprizing the practice is not general. Those who
wear it in that manner take uncommon pains in having it comb'd,
each small parcel being carefully seperated from the rest, and I have
seen a woman whose business it commonly is take an hour and a half
302 to dress a mans hair in that manner. The men have their beards cut
237 short which is done with two thin shells, one of them with the edge
broke into small notches being plac'd under the hair that is to be cut
off, and the back of the other press'd & drawn along the intercepted
part cuts it off very short. Both men & women have the arm pits
bar'd in the same manner, but when they cut their hair or shave it
304 very close the operation is perform'd with a sharks tooth. The men
are staind from about the middle of the belly to about half way down
[237] the thighs with a deep blue colour. This is done by what we might
[412] call puncturation or ingraining with a little flat bone instrument cut
full of fine teeth & fix'd in a handle. It is dipt into the staining mix-
[824] ture, which is prepard from the soot of the Dooedooe and struck into
the skin with a bit of stick untill the blood sometimes follows, and by
that means leaves such indelible marks that time cannot efface them.
They trace in this manner the various lines & figures that fancy
suggests which in some are very elegant either from their variety or
disposition, but as the practice is quite universal it does not appear
whether it is intended as an ornament, or merely a compliance with
one of those old customs for whose institution no satisfactory reason
can be given in after times. The women have none of this about their
bodys but often a few small lines or spots on the inside of their hands.
[751] The men are all circumcis'd or rather supercis'd, as the operation
consists in cutting off only a small piece of the foreskin at the upper
part, which by that means is render'd incapable ever after of
covering the glans, a circumstance which is all they aim at as they
[765] say it is practic'd merely from a notion of cleanliness. Besides the
marks remaining on the cheeks after performing the Tooge there are
great numbers who have concentric circles upon their arms call'd

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Ko'ooma,[1] small black spots there and about the body call'd [2] and in different parts longitudinal prominent scars nam'd Taffa,[3] none of which are ornamental but marks that show they have mourn'd for their dead relations;[4] the two first of which are effected by fire, the other by incision, and seems to be done exactly in the same manner as those of the natives at Van Diemens land who probably do it on the same occasion.

Their common dress is a piece of cloth fasten'd about the middle either by pushing the ends as they reach over within each other with a belt of the same cloth, or with a strong roundish plaited girdle tapering at each end made from the Cocoa nut coir. It reaches to the ankle but sometimes scarcely so far, and they often leave as much above the fastening as will draw up & wrap round the body and shoulders when they find it necessary. The most usual next to that is mats of various sorts fasten'd in the same manner, and over both are often tied a sort of sash made from the leaves of the Jeejee; but the people of consequence are distinguish'd from the others by wearing their cloth plaited; and to make it a full dress, which is done on particular occasions as in their dances, Natche &c, they put over it a bit of matt only finish'd in the middle, with the long ends staind red. There is no distinction between the dress of the women and men and their ornaments are also the same. The most common of these are necklaces, made of the fruit of the Pandanus and various sweet smelling flowers which go under the general name of Ka'kulla,[5] others made with small shells, the wing and leg bones of birds, sharks teeth & other things all of which hang loose upon the breast. In the same manner they often wear a mother of pearl shell neatly polishd, a ring of the same substance carv'd on the upper part of the arm, rings of tortoise shell on the fingers, and a number of these join'd together as bracelets on the wrists. The lobes of the ears (though most frequently only one) are perforated with two holes in which they wear

[1] This is rather difficult: *ko uma* does not occur as a single word. *Uma* is shoulder; Anderson's informant probably gave him this word instead of that for a particular fashion of tattooing. 'Concentric circles on the arms and shoulders' was called 'Eetaee', says Labillardière, II, p. 405.

[2] 'Lafo', says Labillardière, ibid., 'Tattooing in the form of freakles on the face and part of the body'. Neither of these expressions for tattooing comes into any other word-list or dictionary I have seen.

[3] *tafa*, to cut in pieces, or generally to cut or lance.

[4] *some of which . . . relations*: Anderson seems to be quite wrong here. Signs of mourning might vary from singeing off the hair close to the scalp to quite savage self-infliction of wounds with clubs, stones, spears or knives; but tattooing does seem to have been purely ornamental. The 'longitudinal prominent scars', on the other hand, may have been those of mourning wounds.

[5] *kakala*, sweet-smelling flowers of any kind, or the trees and plants bearing them.

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548 scrupled at our most intimate connexions with their women for a very moderate price, and absolutely converted it into a fix'd article
836 of trade to their no small emolument. It should not however be under-
837 stood that this is without exception universal, as there are many women who either from their connections, natural timidity, or absolute aversion to such promiscuous engagements are not pregnable on any terms, independent of those who are understood to be married.

This extensive and gentle empire which Love has planted amongst them is so far from loosening that it cements the bands of Society. The sexes seem to live in the most perfect harmony undisturb'd by jealousy on either side,[1] and what is perhaps still more uncommon, that almost universal passion seems to be quite a stranger amongst
583 the female part with respect to each other. Amongst the various lovers that present themselves it may be easily suppos'd a woman will soon discover, either from interest or desire, one whom she would wish to attach herself to, & he probably from her assiduity to please will be fix'd from roving, from whence it is not uncommon to see such cases before a lasting union is agreed on as far as we could perceive
[163] from circumstances. When that has taken place the domestic felicity
[519] seems to increase; for as they often become mothers at an early age their affection for their children and care in providing for them excites their industry in conjunction with that of the husband, and soon obliterates their wish for such unstable connections as before
855 that period. When they cease to bear children they appear to gain
888 instead of lose respect, and though they then appear to have some weight in the management of the younger sort it seems ultimately to be left to the decision of the men, who though absolute excercise their power in a very gentle manner except in a few cases.

765 Their mutual affection does not cease on this side of the grave, nor can they believe that death bereaves them of the merit of expressing their long grief by removing the object from their sight, and rendering
[764] it unsusceptible of the various proofs of their kindness. Nothing however does them greater credit nor can be a greater proof of their humanity than the concern the[y] show for and decent disposal of
765 the dead. Their mourning is, to use a common expression, not in
304 words but deeds, for besides the Tooge, burnt circles and scars mention'd before they beat the teeth with stone[s], strike a sharks tooth into the head untill the blood flows in streams and thrust spears into the inner part of the thigh, the sides below the armpits, and through the cheeks into the mouth—all operations that convey

[1] But cf. p. 96a below, where a commoner and a chief's wife were concerned.

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an idea of such rigorous discipline that must require either an uncommon degree of affection or the grossest superstition to exact. I will not say that the last has no share in it, for in some cases it is so universal that many could not have any knowledge of the person for whom the concern is express'd—such for instance as the case mention'd of the people of Tonga mourning the death of a chief at Va'vaoo; unless we allow that it is customary to have a general mourning for persons of eminence, as seem'd to be the case on our arrival at Tonga, when a great number of the people who had been with us at Annamooka cut off their hair for a chief who had died at Tonga a month before, and at the same [time] it should be observ'd that the painfull operations are only done by the nearest connections. When a person dies he is buried the same day, after being wrapp'd up in matts and cloth, much after our manner: the chiefs in this case having the Fyatockas appropriated to them but the common people are interr'd in no particular spot. What part of the mourning ceremony follows immediately after is uncertain, but that there is something besides the general one we were inform'd of from the death of Mareewagges wife, who died while we were there and was to have five days spent for that purpose by all the principal people in commemoration of her.

Their long and general mourning proves that they consider death as a very great evil, and this is confirm'd by an odd custom they practice to avert it, for when they suspect themselves in danger from sickness they cut off their little finger as a propitiation to the Deity. The operation is perform'd with one of their stone hatchets with which they make a tolerable stump, but never cover it afterwards, leaving these and all other sores expos'd to the air; nor do they seem to have any method of assisting the cure of diseases of any kind, the only instance I saw being some incisions made in a large swelling in a mans arm to discharge the matter by. There is scarcely one in ten but are thus mutilated in one or both hands (which is sometimes done on the illness of their chief as well as themselves) and has a disagreeable effect, many being cut so short that they have incroach'd on the bone of the hand which joins to it.

There is another custom amongst them call'd Taboo whose precise meaning we do not well understand. The word itself implys no more than that a thing is not to be touch'd, and therefore every thing that is under such restriction for certain reasons is said to be Taboo'd. It seems a custom of great force and extent and in some measure may be reckon'd of the sacred or religious cast, relating to things hallow'd and forbidden. Thus the Fya'tocka at Poulaho's house was not to be

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our Cloth & matting very strong & neatly made, some of these are 291
brown others quite white & they are always fringed. They have also
various kinds of Matts with fringes & tossels worked on them which 292
they wear upon extraordinary Occasions, they also wear over all
round the middle a dress made of Leaves more for ornament than 301
use, & they wear one like it but less about their necks, which they
also ornament with Necklaces made of Shells, but these soon gave
way to our blue beads of which they were extravagantly fond both
men & women. The common Dress of the Chiefs & which seemed to 565
distinguish them from the common people was a large piece of Cloth
round their waist & plaited at the upper part, which is done by the 291
women with the same Care & nicety as Shirts are plaited in England
tho' the folds are not near so fine. This was no unbecoming Dress [302]
they oil their Hair & Shoulders with Cocoa nut oil after bathing, &
thus dress'd and decorated an Amsterdam Chief cuts no despicable
appearance. They wear their Hair long, flowing over their Shoulders, 302
but they are obliged to cut it off on particular Occasions such as the
Death of the Chiefs or of their relations, and for the same Reason 763
both men & women & even Children cut off their little fingers: many 304
of them have both cut off, there are but very few that have not lost
one, they cut it off just underneath the first joint, tye up the Stump 752
with grass & leaves[1] & it soon heals, they cut them off with stone
Chizels & then bury them in the ground. Their Arms & Cheek bones 304
are also marked in memory of the dead. Their walk is strait & 765
majestic & their manners free & open. In their Dispositions they are
friendly hospitable & humane, very tender to & careful of old People 181
and the Sick, & civil & obliging to each other, treat their women well. [516]
I was much pleased with the following instance of their gratitude
which I happened to be a witness to. A large Sailing Canoe having 431
got her rigging entangled with the Resolution's driver boom was in
danger of carrying away her Mast, & the Indians had made several
Efforts but in vain to disengage it, which a young Gentleman who
had the Watch upon deck observing ordered one of the Men to
assist them, who thinking it no part of his duty growled about it &
was very unwilling to go, on which the gentleman jumped on the
boom himself & got the Canoe clear; the Indians then insisted upon
his accepting a large bunch of Cocoa nuts as a present for the Service
he had done them, but this he would not accept tho' he was much
pleased with the Offer.

[1] There can have been no uniformity of treatment. Anderson speaks of no treatment at all; Mariner says (II, p. 179) that after the operation the stump was merely 'held in the smoke and steam arising from the combustion of fresh-plucked grass', this stopping the flow of blood.

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142 The Women are in general handsome tho' many among them somewhat masculine, & it was the general Opinion that in female softness & Delicacy they were excelled by the Otaheite Ladies, who from being more covered are of a fairer Complexion; however we saw great Numbers of Girls here as beautiful or more so than any at Otaheite & who in Symmetry & proportion might dispute the palm with any women under the Sun. They wear much the same kind of 291 Clothing as the men & wear necklaces of Shells and the Legs of [301] Fowls & some made of a small black Seed.[1] They are clothed from the [237] Waist to the Knees & all the other parts are exposed. The lower Class [824] of young women have their Hair cut short, while those of the Agee order wear it long & flowing down their Shoulders which had a 565 graceful and a truly elegant Appearance, & made us lament that the 302 superstitious Custom of mourning for the dead should deprive a young Creature as beautiful as Venus herself of her chief Ornament, [765] which is always the Case on the Death of the Chiefs or their own Relations. As to modesty these women have no more Claim to it 831 than the Otaheiteans, we have had on board the ships large Companies of them dancing stark naked, at the same time using the most 565 lascivious Gestures.[2] These Agee Girls, as we called them, never came 609 on board the Ships, nor were their favours to be purchased for 836 Hatchets or any thing else that we had, they are kept inviolate for the Chiefs who marry them. After lying in the women stain their 846 bodies & faces of a yellow Colour[3] & this they continue to do for a 302 certain time. Polygamy seems to be allowed at these Islands to the Chiefs some of whom had four or five wives, tho' it is probable that 595 none but those of the first Consequence are allowed as many, the 565 generality of the people having only one.

We saw 4 or 5 white people at these Islands and at Annamooka a Child of about a year old, they are all much alike in their Persons & 143 appearance, all small slender people with very weak eyes that can hardly bear the light; their Skin where it is not covered is rough & cracked & of a red Colour that under their Cloaths is exactly like the skin of an European. It is the Opinion of some that the whiteness of the Skin is occasioned by a Distemper, if it be so it is a distemper that is born with them; it is certain that they have a very puny sickly appearance & are altogether a disagreeable ugly looking people. We saw no Women of this Colour.

[1] The berries of the Poro, *Solanum nigrum*.

[2] The foregoing sentence is an insertion in the MS; hence the dislocation in the sense of the following one.

[3] A mixture of turmeric and oil was used. It was supposed to aid the mother's flow of [853] milk. The child was painted similarly.

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that nothing remain'd of the Ear, but the outside fleshy Skin; this I understand was for the reception of some Ornament, which was fashionable at their Isle, but having nothing in it now, it hung about their Shoulders.

The Natives of Fidgi are the only people in this part of the World, who use Bows & Arrows in Battle: it is very amazing, that tho' these Friends of ours, experience the efficacy of them in their own destruction, that they do not attempt an imitation, but still adhere to their Spears & Clubs, which they find so infinitely inferior Weapons, they have Bows and Arrows, with which they Shoot Birds & Fish, but have no idea of improving them to nobler uses, tho' they have the Example before their Eyes. They tell us, the Fidgi Gentry frequently eat their Prisoners, & deem a good jolly Carcass of a Man the most delicious Fare in the World, so much so, that the Feast is wholly devoted to the Gentry, the lower Class not being sufferd to taste: they give us so particular an account of this Business & at the same time it is so universal among them, that for my own part I have no doubt of its Authenticity, and that they do deem it a choice repast.

Every principal Family among our Friends, here, have a particular burying Place, which they call their Mori; it is form'd by throwing up an Elevation about 6 or 8 feet above the general Surface of the Earth, which they render compact by facing it with large Stones or Sod; a very large one in particular at Amsterdam, was fac'd with Stones which they had hewn for that purpose, about a foot thick, 5 or 6 in length, & 4 or 5 in breadth;[1] in the middle of this rising is a House into which the dead Body is carried & buried. These Elevations of the Mori's are from an 100 to 2 or 300 yard, in circumference, they are held very sacred; nobody goes near them but the People of the Family: it wou'd be Death to one of the lower Class of People to enter one of the little burial Houses, & I much query if it wou'd not, to be seen walking over the Eminence of the Mori. There must be a great deal of Pain in their Mourning Ceremonies for their Friends here, they make a confounded howling & beat their Faces just upon the Cheek Bone, till the Blood & Tears flow most abundantly. I believe the more heartily they beat themselves, the greater Compliment they are suppos'd to pay to the deceas'd; they must have some very persuasive Inducement, for 'tis almost incredible to what a degree they torment themselves upon these Occasions. A very fine Lass, a particular Friend of Feenow's, with whose Household I was very intimate, made herself such a fright (in honour of old Mallawogga's wife, who was a friend of hers, and died whilst we were there) that I absolutely knew no more of her at our next Meeting, than if I had never seen her in my Life: that mutilation of the hand by cutting off the little finger, is certainly a ceremony at the death of their Relations; I enquir'd the particulars of this Circumstance of many of them; they all told me, the right hand finger was devoted to the father, and the left to the Mother.[2]

[1] This was evidently a *langi*, or royal tomb.

[2] This last detail of the propitiation ceremony so often referred to is found nowhere else, but is not impossibly true.

58: King G,T-5 (1777) 1967 0U9 Tonga 0U9



the time that their entertainments were exhibit'd there might be not short of 12,000 people, who built temporary huts or slept under the trees about the tent; at the Ceremony at Moa[1] we suppose not less than 600 chiefs were assembled, but from these bodies I see no good conclusion to be drawn of the number in either all, or any one of them. From the Nature of the Country, requiring the labour & industry of the Natives for their support, it cannot be near so populous in proportion to their size as what the Society Islands are; the houses here are by no means thickly scatterd about & many parts in all the Islands are uncultivat'd, owing to the Sandiness & poverty of the Soil in low Islands, & in the high ones to their elevatd & expos'd situation; besides the larger low Islands have extensive lagoons & lakes as at Tonga & Anamooka, which considerably lessens the surface, leaving therefore their population to be gatherd from the nature of the Country. We will proceed to their Colour, form, & Natural dispositions.

The Friendly Islanders are of a lively brown Colour & a shade darker than Omai. Although many of their principal women were fairer, their colour resembles that of the Mallays we saw at the Cape of Good hope; they are in general above the middle size, many very tall men & but a few under sizd, they are firmly & compactly made about the joints, broad shoulderd & Muscular, & perhaps few natives exceed them in that form, which requires both strenght & agility; this is even to be observ'd in their walking but abundantly shewn in their athletick exercises & dances: their hair I believe is universally black or a dark brown when young, but they have a method of colouring it which deceives one at first; it is not unusual to see two diff[t] colours on the same head, & perhaps one purple; a sort of chalky paste which they very often daub upon their heads turns the hair a yellow sandy colour; they are still more various in their fashion of wearing it, being cut short on some parts & others left long, yet as they seem to admire fine long hair, we rather suppose that when it is even partially cut, & we know it to be the case when all short, that it is in memory of some deceas'd friend. There are but few who have beards, but shave very dextrously with 2 shells, laying one under the hair & the sharp point of the one above meeting that of the one below, cuts it close off. The Chiefs have glossy smooth skins preservd so by frequent washing; & as fresh water is scarce, they after bathing in salt water throw over them a few coco nut shells of fresh, which takes the salt which otherwise adheres to the skin, & which gives a disagreeable roughness to that of the common people, & afterwards rub over their bodies Coco nut Oile perfectly sweet & free from any disagreeable smell. There are nevertheless many cutanious marks from disorders & from voluntary inflictions; more than half of them are affect'd with the tetter or ringworm, which leaves behind a whitish mark; boils & blotches are often met with, & inflam'd sore Eyes are frequent; few are free from marks on the Cheek bone, which they make by quick repeating strokes with the knuckles on the death of their friends or relations, besides these there are many other disfiguring marks inflict'd on the same

[1] Mu'a.

58: King G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9



175 account; other disorders which affect their appearance, but not common,
164 are large broad ulcers which appear in every part of the body, & when
[765] heal'd leaves behind ugly scars like bits of skin ty'd together. We also saw several people with their Arms & legs swelld the whole length to a prodigious size. Notwithstanding these disorders, they may be considerd as uncommonly healthy, for I never heard of any one being seen confin'd sick in his house, & all their actions shew that they are not debilitated by
175 diseases, the Consequence of Indolence or unnatural way of living; the
304 men are punctulated or as they call it Tatowd, from the loins to half down
171 the thighs, often Elegantly, but no spiral lines as at New Zeeland. The
142 women have only a few lines or spots about the hands or fingers. The
175 General figure of the women is too masculine to pretend to beauty: they
562 are of a middle height, stout, well limbd, broad faced, with rather harsh features, their hands are small with delicate fingers; their Eyes are expressive & countenances the best natur'd in the World, which need not be sourd from the behaviour of the men, who treat them with regard & tenderness, admit them to their meals & their Kava societies; although
175 custom seems mostly to seperate them on these Occasions. The behaviour
562 of men towards Women is doubtless the best criterion to judge how near
152 Barbarous people approach in manners to civiliz'd Nations: the mildness
571 & good temper so remarkable amongst these People, with that settled
565 respect to their superiors, that perfect command of their Passions, their
157 Peaceable dispositions, & many other Qualities that do honour to the human mind, prove abundantly that these people are far remov'd from a
175 savage state. We may be somewhat surpris'd how they came posses'd of
181 such Qualities, which require, with all our advantages, no small trouble
685 for us to obtain; Particularly as these People have few Vices that we coud perceive, to counterbalance their Virtues. They are certainly much given to thieving & one wou'd wish to render this less a crime in them than it would be in us; for that reason I shoud migitate [*sic*] its commonality by observing that it is not the same vice with them as it is with us, that it arises from an intense curiosity, urging them on to possess articles so extraordinary & belonging to a new People; else why do they steal indiscriminately whatever comes in their way, very frequently things that
[565] cannot be of the smallest use to them. The Principal Chiefs were however in a great measure free from this crime.

175 *Canoe's.* There are two sorts of Canoes. The small ones with Outriggers are
501 from 20 to 30 feet long, 2 broad & 1½ deep, it is sharp like a wedge at both ends, & widens from the after end to about ¼ of its length when it begins gradually to grow narrower to the foremost end; towards both ends it is deckd over, the middle space is left open for the Padlers. The Canoe consists of more than 20 pieces, which cannot be from Necessity as the pieces are the same in all, but from design; & these are so neatly join'd together as to gain the Admiration of our Carpenters; the seams on the outside are scarcely Visible, but on the inside is a ridge made from the

123 'squatters' lived in a small house on the same land, and in some ways can be considered part of the household.

[121] My original plan was to do a broad study of the arts and aesthetic
[125] taste in Tonga. I gave value tests based on sculpture, began to learn the language and some dances, and observed tapa making. But mainly I just participated in Tongan life.

[121] On my second trip I stayed nearly one year and lived alone in a small, thatched Tongan house. However, for many purposes I was again part of a household. This was a commoner family consisting of a married couple plus their own and 'adopted' children. I usually spent two days each week in Lapaha, Mu'a, the village traditionally reknowned for its dancing. In Lapaha the family I stayed with consisted of a woman of a chiefly family; her husband, a man from a matāpule (ceremonial attendant) family; the woman's step-father, who was a commoner; and two young girls who did most of the work. This third family was Catholic, while the first two were Mormon and Wesleyan, respectively.

121 Building on my knowledge of Tonga gathered during the first trip, I decided to concentrate on two of their important cultural categories--
192 dance and tapa making--and to explore the relation between these and the social order. It should be noted that the Tongans have no verbalised category that would correspond to the Western concept of the
122 'arts.' A few months after I arrived Queen Salote died, which placed
765 both dance and tapa making under tapu. This tapu officially lasted
766 six months, but in effect really lasted for a year. Although my
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specific research died under me, so to speak, this did not prove to be an insurmountable problem. After a month or so, some of my informants were willing to teach me some dances and were willing to talk about dance. In some ways this was an advantage, for if I wanted to know how to do something, they could not tell me to go and look at a performance, but had to demonstrate instead.

The last nation-wide celebration with dance performance was in 1962. It is not very often that a large-scale celebration is held, so the Queen's death was not the only reason that I could not observe one. I did, however, miss the minor dance performances which would have been held if the Queen had not died during my residence. Fortunately, during my first field trip and the first three months of my second field trip I did see performances of all the dance genres. I also learned to perform a dance of each genre. From observation, participation, and persistent questioning my research has enabled me to delineate the structure of Tongan dance and its function in the society.

Many other aspects of life were studied that will not be presented here. A good deal of my time was occupied with gathering of texts that dances accompany. These texts are not written down but are reconstructed each time they are to be performed by the people who know them, and it was particularly difficult to gather these people together especially when it was tapu to sing dance songs. These texts are very important in ascertaining the meaning of the dance. The

127 found elaborations on these activities at the Pea in other Wesleyan missionary accounts.

The following descriptions, recorded by three separate individuals, contain varying amounts of ethnographic information. They are apparently the only descriptions of the activities which Woon was referring to that have survived into the 20th Century. Where Woon's entry was for July 15, 1833, the following descriptions deal with the activities of July 23, 1833. Thomas' journal provides us with the basic information of who the Wesleyan eyewitnesses were, and from whom the ethnohistorical

127 researcher can hope to find extant manuscript accounts. Thomas con-
797 tinues Woon's description of what took place:

765 [565]

> Today we set off for the Bea, viz I and Bro Hobbs and Tucker to witness a ceremony called the Hikitaga, it consists in removing the remains of the dead into a nother place. The Chief at the Bea is very unwell and lately made a new stone vault into which he was preparing to deposit the remains of the chief Takai. Also the remains of three persons named Lavaka - and about 4 persons besides. We were allowed to sit inside the house which was over the burying place, and witness a part of the process, we saw the coffin, in which Takai was buried, it was an old canoe the boards of which were getting rotten [stress in original] (Thomas, Journal, July 23, 1833).

This trip to the Pea area was to witness the Tongan ceremony known as hikitanga. The 19th Century dictionary transcribed the term as "Hikitaga" and defined it as "the act of removing the bones of the dead" (Rabone 1845: 127). The 20th Century definition of the term is "to dig up (a corpse), to exhume, disinter" (Churchward 1959: 223).

127 In this description from his journal, although Thomas did not provide us with the name of the dying chief, he does provide us with the

127 name of the dead chief, Takai, who is to be reburied. On the basis of Woon's description, the ethnohistorical researcher might make the initial assumption that Takai was the brother of the un-named dying chief, who interceded in Pulotu for the chief and his people, but more information is definitely needed to make a statement of ethnohistorical 127 fact based on this assumption. Thomas' own letter-journal manuscript 797 account, with its entry of July 23, 1833, provides us with the name 765 of the dying chief at the Pea:

> ...to witness a heathen ceremony there called Hikitaga, it consists in the moving the bones of the dead from one place to another. I expected many persons to be present, and thought an opportunity might thus afford of speaking for the Lord. On arriving at the Bea, we waited upon Fae, or Taufa, the chief who is very ill, and has he feels satisfied he must die, he has been careful to prepare himself a tomb or vault while yet alive, into which his remains are to be put, when he dies. This vault, which has cost his people immense labour and time, is to contain the remains of several great chiefs, who from time to time have been commited to the earth, chiefly relatives after which his own remains are to be deposited there [stress added] (Thomas, Letter-Journal, July 23, 1833).

[565] [763]

127 The actual description of the hikitanga ceremony has not been elaborated upon. The assumption that the individual named "Takai" of Thomas' journal description was the brother of the dying chief "Fae" of Thomas' letter-journal entry is strengthened by Thomas' mention of "relatives" being reburied.

127 Hobbs, one of the other missionaries mentioned by Thomas in his 797 journal entry, also wrote of the visit and the activities at the Pea:

> On Tuesday I accompanied Bro Thomas and Bro Tucker to the Bea one of the principal places on the Island the chief of which is very ill - We witnessed parts of the ceremony of taking up a deceased chief's Bones and saw

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the vault in which they were afterwards to be deposited. When Bro Thomas waited on the Sick Chief he found him fully determined to choose his idols. He said it was very well for us and Tubou and the people to serve our God; but as for him he was fully satisfied to worship his own God and that he and his people therefore should continue to choose to their heathenish ceremonies. The god that this Chief principaly worships died about 20 years since whose bones are now removed; and it is also as firmly believed that that he inspires the present chief that is, that he comes and communicates with him on all important occasions from the invisible world. And the people seem to adore the Chief almost as much as the god who inspires him. It is expected that this chief will soon die, and he intends to be buried in the new vault just now finished. The vault is indeed a marvelous work for a company of poor heathen savages to perform destitute as they are of Tools - it is composed of 5 large pieces of stone one to answer as a bottom and four for each side. These were fitted to each other in a way which was highly creditable to their genius and perseverance and left a space for the Bones about 6 feet long 4 feet Deep and 3½ feet wide. There was a stone also prepared to cover the Vault when the present chief dies. This stone is about 9 feet long 7 feet broad & 1 & ½ foot thick wrought into a square form with one smooth face which will of course be placed downwards [stress added] (Hobbs, Journal, July 27, 1833).

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127 From this rather detailed description by Hobbs, the ethnohistorical researcher gradually pieces together the events which took place at the Pea. Once again, although proper names of the dying Tongan chief (Fae) and the deceased chief (Takai) are not mentioned, one assumes that if inspiration for the dying chief comes from a deceased relative, as 'otua, then Fae and Takai might have been siblings.

The journal of the third missionary mentioned by both Thomas and Hobbs, Charles, Tucker, was not available. Tucker, however, did make a letter-journal entry of the events of that day, presumably copied from his own journal. Tucker wrote:

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74: Urbanowicz E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1978
(ca. 1800-1850)
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Yesterday I accompanied Messers. Thomas & Hobbs to the Bea (a place where heathenism still abounds) to witness a ceremony of rather a novel and interesting nature, viz. the removing of the bones of a great chief whose demise took place about twenty years ago. He was buried originally in a small canoe which was deposited in sand, and had a shed erected over it. Now they have prepared a stone vault in which to inter him; we witnessed only a part of the ceremony. It did not terminate until today. On these occasions they inflict very severe punishment on themselves as a proof of their love for the person who may have died. They burn themselves on the cheek bone and other parts of their bodies and then they keep striking with their fist that part of their face which has been burnt, some cut their heads & faces with sharp stones and shells, while they assure those who are dead that they are almost dying for love to them. If the deceased had been warriors or had distinguished themselves in any way during their life, their most noted action would be recited at their funerals [stress added] (Tucker, Letter-Journal, entry of July 24, 1833).

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Tucker clearly states that he was a witness to part of the ceremony and that the entire ceremony was at a minimum, a two-day ceremony (or perhaps a twenty-four hour ceremony--from noon to noon). He provides us with details on the behavior of individuals attending a funeral ceremony or a hikitanga, or re-burial ceremony. The ethnohistorical researcher is still not certain of the relationship between the dying chief and the re-buried dead chief, but Tucker's description provides a confirmation or external consistency check on Thomas' journal description of the canoe in which the dead chief was originally buried and the "house" (Thomas) or "shed" (Tucker) erected over the old burying place where the canoe was located in the sand. The possible significance of this shed over a burial place is clarified by Turner, who was witness to a burial at Vava'u. Turner wrote ("should a chief die in his house that house would be sacred for 6 months - or would be removed

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127 over the grave" (Turner, Journal, February 18, 1833).

764 A final description of the hikitanga ceremony of July 23, 1833
127 comes from Thomas' post-1850 manuscript account. Thomas provides in-
765 formation which confirms descriptions from all previous accounts of
the hikitanga, as well as new details and information.

[304] Fae of Bea is still very ill, but firmly attached to his heathenism, he has had a new stone vault got ready for his body in his fort, and this day disinterred the body of Takai his older brother formerly the warrior chief of this fort, and three other friends of the Lavaka tribe, and now the people of Bea are performing funeral ceremonies for them a second time, it being what is called the hikitangaa with the crying of the women, and beating their bosoms, and the frantic speeches of the men who cut themselves and break their heads until the blood gushes out and runs down over their bodies. This [776] of course is in sorrow to the dead and especially [565] to Takai the Tutelar God - and at one time esteemed the Hau, or How of Tonga.

The bones of the different chiefs were carefully laid in new clean matts - with black cloth and wealth and thus covered and laid out in a large house prepared for the occasion, where the chief mourners were all seated and where lights were about to be kept burning all that night in honour of the dead, and the mourning would be kept up. Large quantity of native property
127 was presented, as is usual at the funeral of chiefs
797 called tukuofo - and the next day the chiefs would be
763 laid in the new vault with all the usual ceremonies,
[765] of persons lately departed, but as our time did not admit of our remaining to witness that part, we first waited upon Fae and again urged upon him the importance of caring for his soul, but turning to God, but found him most firmly determined to die to the gods of Tonga, and although he was now near death yet he was firm to his gods. He was more ernest than usual, and almost angry to think that he should be talked to on such a subject. Our last words that he would most assuredly find out that Jehovah was the true God. We then left him [stress added] (Thomas MS. 1b: 923-925).

74: Urbanowicz E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1978
(ca. 1800-1850)
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127 This description by Thomas clearly points out that Fae and Takai were brothers, confirming Woon. This sibling relationship is also [776] confirmed by extant Tongan genealogies (Collocott n.d. I: 49). Thomas' statement that Takai was the titular god of Fae confirms what Hobbs [764] wrote. The house mentioned by Thomas follows his own journal and confirms Tucker's "shed." Thomas' description of the behavior of the [765] individuals participating in the hikitanga ceremony also confirms Tucker's general description of funerary activities.

127 565 Thomas provides us with new information on how the bones of Takai were prepared for interment, how Fae was living in a fort, and that Takai was "at one time esteemed the Hau, or How of Tonga."

127 565 643 Gifford (1929) wrote that the title hau was a "term applied to either the Tui Haa Takalaua or the Tui Kanokupolu" (1929: 85). Since Gifford never lists Takai as having held either the title of Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua or Tu'i Kanokupolu (1929: 82-87) and he never records Takai as being a hau, then either Thomas' eyewitness-based description was incorrect or Gifford was incorrect. Gifford could be in error on either of two counts: either the title hau was not limited to only the individual who held the title of Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua or Tu'i Kanokupolu, or, Takai was at one point Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua or Tu'i Kanokupolu and Gifford failed to record this fact.

Gifford based his statements on the hau on the basis of his interpretation of published accounts and memory culture of 20th Century informants. Thomas, on the other hand, was an actual eyewitness at the time of the hau and Gifford was not. In his journal of 1833 Thomas

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
OU9 Tonga OU9



It was significant that Sir John Thurston, and Leefe, the British Consul, were strongly opposed to Moulton's return although they knew that the Wesleyans desired it. Langham, Chairman of the Fiji District, also felt that it would be unwise. The High Commissioner wrote to the President of the New South Wales Conference on 29 March 1892:

> "The High Commissioner places on record his opinion and belief that the reappointment and residence of Mr. Moulton in Tonga will result in a reopening of the troubles and dissensions which were quieted barely two years ago. The High Commissioner is satisfied that King George would view Mr. Moulton's return as an act of unkindness, if not of hostility, on the part of the Wesleyan Conference . . . If Mr. Baker returns to Tonga, voluntarily or otherwise, and troubles arose, official action would certainly be embarrassed, perhaps neutralized, by the presence of Mr. Moulton. . . . If Mr. Moulton is returned to Tonga by the Conference and troubles arise between the so-called Free Church and the Wesleyan Mission Church, the Conference will have no just claim to the sympathy or assistance of that authority which it formerly invoked. Wilfred Collet, Secretary." (26)

On 12 October 1892, the High Commissioner wrote to J. C. Symons, President of the General Conference:

> "Since the previous letter, the king has written to the High Commissioner stating that he does not wish Mr. Baker or Mr. Moulton to return to Tonga." (27)

In view of these adverse opinions, the General Conference Committee on Tongan Affairs recommended the New South Wales Conference to permit Moulton to visit Tonga for short periods only. In the meantime, Moulton went ahead with his literary work in Sydney. Eventually the New South Wales Conference in 1895 appointed Moulton to be Principal of Tupou College and Superintendent of the Tongatapu Circuit, but not to reside continuously in Tonga; he spent two or three months there in 1895, the same in 1896, and short periods in later years. In spite of his conspicuous ability and intellectual gifts, the evidence reveals that Moulton had become personally objectionable to the Free Church people and an insuperable obstacle to any possibility of reunion.

It can be said now that Moulton's beneficial influence in the land he loved has outweighed the unfortunate effects of his prolonged feuds with Baker and his misunderstandings with the old king. Unwise though he had often been, and though the Wesleyan remnant had suffered for his indiscretions, he retained the unquenchable affection of his faithful followers. Not only was he a scholar from a family of scholars, a teacher of unusual brilliance, and a preacher of penetrating power. He must also have been a man of magnetic personality to bind the persecuted Wesleyans to him with strong cords of love. Outwardly his work could be found in his monumental translation of the whole Bible, a work covering nearly thirty years and completed with the publication of the Old Testament in 1902, his 264 superb hymns, his many other literary productions and musical transcriptions. Even more enduring was the quality of the ministers and laymen he trained. This quality stood out like the high islands of Kao and Tofua, in Tongan imagery. Moulton died in Sydney on 9 May 1909. A granite obelisk, erected to his memory, stands outside Tupou College Chapel today.

"The Grand Old Man of the Pacific", George Tupou I, passed away on 18 February 1893 at 96 years of age. It was thought that he had caught a chill during his daily bathing in the sea in front of the Palace. There was general mourning for six months. No work was done on the plantations, which resulted in a serious food shortage. Time seemed to stand still in the little kingdom and the loss of the central figure of the century left his people benumbed. No one could

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
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[1951-1972]

In June 1968, the centenary of Tupou College was observed; it had been postponed from 1966 because of the Queen's death, the period of mourning, and the coronation celebrations. There were 10,000 present at the final service at Tolo̲a, the present location of the College. Another feature was the singing of Handel's oratorio "The Messiah" by a massed choir of 2,000, formed by village choirs from all districts, at the Centenary Church, Nuku'alofa. The entire oratorio was sung from memory and with great eclat.

The development of practical teaching in agriculture and in animal husbandry at Tupou College has made it almost self-supporting. A new science block and a technical wing have enlarged the usefulness of the College; these were supported by "The Methodist Million" fund in Australia and the benevolence of the late Lord Rank in England. The new Hango Agricultural College on the island of 'Eua, opened by the king in 1969, with a property of 420 acres, is designed to emulate the success of Navuso, the Methodist Agricultural School in Fiji. The value of Tupou High School, established in 1963 for higher academic studies, was seen when in 1965 the first of its students qualified to matriculate at Melbourne University; this was the first case of matriculation from a school in Tonga.

The contribution of the Churches to secondary education is revealed by the fact that over 50% of the secondary school students in Tonga are now being educated by the Free Wesleyan Church, about 40% by other Churches, and only 10% in Government secondary schools. In 1972 the Free Wesleyan Church had 2,990 students in six colleges, 2,000 in twenty-one middle schools, 3,999 in 29 primary schools. Other Churches have expanded their educational facilities; the Mormon College was developed with an expenditure of $4,000,000 in five years and has reached an enrolment of 1,200 co-educational pupils.

An encouraging instance of better inter-church relationships is the friendliness with the Roman Catholic Church. This has been inspired by the world-wide influence of the late Pope John XXIII. Agreement was reached regarding a new translation of the Bible. A noted missionary-linguist, the late Dr. Maxwell Churchward, who produced, first, a new Grammar and Dictionary for the Government, revised the New Testament between 1951 and 1961. In August 1962 the two Churches agreed to accept this and to revise the Old Testament also. The Roman Catholic Church asked for only four words to be spelt according to its custom (Jesus, Mary, Joseph, and grace). Dr. John 'Amanaki Havea was commissioned in 1965 to conduct the whole revision. So amicable is the relationship between the two Churches that in 1972 a choir of 1,000 Free Wesleyans took part in the service of consecrating a Tongan priest to be the first Tongan-born Roman Catholic bishop. The Tongan Council of Churches, established in 1973 (under the auspices of the World Council of Churches), consists of the Free Wesleyan Church, the Roman Catholic Church, and the Church of England. The Free Church and the Church of Tonga have not become members of the Council of Churches.

The Church has felt itself fortunate in the quality of overseas ministers and teachers who have served in Tonga in this century. A full list appears in the appendix. Special reference is made to the following:—

Ernest E. V. Collocott, M.A., B.D., Litt.D., served in Ha'apai, and also as Principal of Tupou College, beginning the new section at Nafualu with English as the medium. His published works in Tongan history and anthropology were accepted in the Bishop Museum, Honolulu, and other learned societies.

92: Kaeppler E-4 (1964-1967) 1971
OU9 Tonga OU9

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304 PLATE 1a. 'The Landing at Middleburgh, one of the Friendly Islands'. Engraving after W. Hodges.
782 PLATE 1b. *To'o nima*, finger sacrifice. Detail from 'The Landing at Middleburgh'.
292 PLATE 1c. Mourning mat. Funeral of Queen Sālote Tupou III, December 1965.
764 PLATE 2a. *Ta'ovala la*, waist mat. Pitt Rivers Museum, Forster 53.
765 PLATE 2b. *Kie fau*, waist mat. Pitt Rivers Museum, Forster 56.
285 PLATE 2c. *Sisi fale*, waist mat. Pitt Rivers Museum, Forster 61.
531 PLATE 3a. *Palā tavake*, feather headdress. Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna, Austria (4672).
127 PLATE 3b. Feather headdress. Detail from a carved club. Peabody Museum, Salem, Massachusetts (E33465).
293 PLATE 4a. *Fue hafa*, fly whisk. Pitt Rivers Museum, Forster 101.
714 PLATE 4b. Carving implements. i) shark tooth set in handle of wood; ii) European nail set in handle of bone. Pitt Rivers Museum, Forster 174 and 101a.
301 PLATE 5a. Whalebone breastplate. Pitt Rivers Museum, Forster 62.
535 PLATE 5b. Necklace of white shell and dark beads with ivory pieces. Pitt Rivers Museum, Foster 98.
534 PLATE 6a. 'A Night Dance by Women in Hapaee'. Engraving after Webber.
000 PLATE 6b. Left lateral view of the Iwo Eleru cranial vault.
PLATE 7a. The Iwo Eleru skull viewed from above.
PLATE 7b. Left lateral view of the Iwo Eleru mandible. Only one tooth remains in position.
PLATE 8. Pavagarh Dune, showing gentle windward slope, gullying and vegetation.

[Facing End Plate 1]

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PLATE 1a.

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PLATE 1b.

PLATE 1c.

[End Plate 1]

[Captions appear on page facing End Plate ]--Analyst]

92: Kaeppler E-4 (1964-1967) 1971
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unrelated chiefs such as Finau but derives ceremonial status by being related to the Tu'i Tonga through his sister.

As a final example of the complexities of Tonga's interlocking ranking systems let us look at an engraving made from an illustration by Hodges on Cook's second voyage of 'The Landing at Middleburgh' (plate 1*a*). We are at first a bit overwhelmed by the Greek-looking Tongans in flowing garments and European visage—reflecting certainly the European vision of the noble savage in his peaceful Utopia. Bernard Smith in his excellent discussion of this engraving (1960: 52–3) points out that it was probably Cipriani who did the figures in a Hodges landscape.[6] George Forster criticises the picture thus: 'But it is also greatly to be feared, that Mr Hodges has lost the sketches and drawings which he made from Nature in the course of the voyage, and supplied the deficiency in this case, from his own elegant ideas' (Forster 1777: I, 427).

These critics, however, seem to miss the ethnological importance of this picture, for here we have the first (and only) depicted example of finger sacrifice. If we look closely (plate 1*b*), we see that several of the individuals have parts of their little fingers missing—the Tongan practice of *to'o nima*.[7] In their accounts, the Forsters and Cook miss the real significance of the practice. Reinold Forster writes that the 'greater part of the same nation want the two first joints of one, and sometimes both the little fingers, which they cut off as marks of their grief, for deceased parents or relations' (1778: 269). Cook more cautiously tells us: 'we could not learn the cause of this mutilation with any degree of certainty, but judged it to be on account of the death of their parents' (Beaglehole 1961: 268). Anderson on the third voyage gets it almost correct—'for when they suspect themselves in danger from sickness they cut off their little finger as a propitiation to the Deity,' and that it 'is sometimes done on the illness of their chief as well as themselves' (Beaglehole 1967: 947). From later accounts, however (e.g. Martin 1818 and Gifford 1929), it is quite clear that the practice was a sacrifice within the *kāinga* by one of lower rank to cure a sickness of one of higher rank. The lowest ranking, to follow our *kāinga* ranking principles, is the mother's brother or mother's brother's children, or someone of the same kinship category. It is said that there were often arguments over who would have the honour to give the sacrifice. This sacrifice was done within the family and taken to the priest of the sick person's god. A place name in Tungua Island in the Ha'apai group is known as Tangi to'o nima, i.e., crying at finger sacrifice, and is traditionally the place where this took place on behalf of the Tamaha.

Individuals in the group who were eligible to give finger sacrifices are also in the group who cannot eat in the presence of individuals of the higher category. This group also has specific functions at funerals—where they are known as *liongi*. Whole societal lines stand in this kind of relationship to other lines. For example, Tu'i Lakepa's line stands as 'father' to the Tu'i Ha'ateiho's line, and all individuals of Tu'i Ha'ateiho's line must treat those of Tu'i Lakepa's line as one would treat a 'father'. Further, the Tu'i Tonga's line must treat both Tu'i Lakepa and Tu'i Ha'ateiho as one would treat a sister's child, because the Tamaha came from these lines (i.e., Fale Fisi). This situation is especially intense at the chiefly level. Cook was disappointed at the mourning ceremony he attended but his description is invaluable. His account would seem to indicate that the ceremony was not for the king's son,

A. [See End Plate 1, following p. 220--Analyst ]

92: Kaeppler E-4 (1964-1967) 1971
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as Cook says, but perhaps his sister's son or someone else of higher *kāinga* rank. Anderson says that it was for a chief who had died at Vava'u some time before (Beaglehole 1967: 911). This is quite likely, as Vava'u was the home of Sinaitakala, i.e., the Tu'i Tonga's father's sister (mother of Latu) and individuals of this line were of higher *kāinga* rank than the Tu'i Tonga. Cook tells us that to the mourning ceremony the king wore 'an old ragged mat that might have served his great grand Father on some such like occasion: his Servants or those who attended him were all dressed in the same manner, excepting none of them having quite so ragged a Mat round them as their master' (Beaglehole 1967: 140).

This demonstrates once again that even the Tu'i Tonga was outranked within his *kāinga*. The same practice exists today for *liongi* of the high chiefs. For example, at the funeral of Queen Sālote in 1965 it was an honour to wear the most ragged mats, for it demonstrated visually that one was related to the queen (plate 1c). Queen Sālote's mother came from the Tu'i Tonga line making that line *liongi* to the queen—and thus the wearers of the most ragged of mats and the presenters of the most valued of ceremonial gifts, i.e., fine mats.

* * * * *

In this rank-oriented society, material culture held an important place. A few types of material culture will be discussed here to illustrate the usefulness of descriptions and collections from Cook's voyages for research on the interrelationships of social organisation and material culture. It was historical accident that the chiefs met on the second voyage were lower than the chiefs met on the third voyage, and also that some of the collections of artefacts from the two voyages can be separated.[8] These accidents make it possible to relate existing specimens not only to the class structure, but also to levels of chiefs, through written accounts from Cook's voyages and also through traditions still existing in Tonga.

The first type of material culture to be dealt with will be mats, which are the most necessary part of the *koloa* or gifts for any ceremony—be it a societal one or one within the family (family ceremonies having the same attributes as societal ones, only on a smaller scale). Mats have an intricate ranking system of their own, being classified by material and manner of fabrication. All the types of mats known today through fieldwork do not exist in eighteenth century collections. This may be for any one of a number of reasons. They may not have been collected; they may have been collected but then traded to other Polynesians; they may not have been in vogue at that time; they may not have been identified by their collectors as Tongan; or they may simply not have been preserved.

In his second voyage account Cook tells us 'they also make various sorts of Matts of a very fine texture which serve them both for Cloathing and beding. Their Dress is a piece of Cloth or Matting wraped round their Middle reaching from the breast down below the knee, they seldom wear anything over their Shoulders or upon their heads. The dress of the Men and Women are the same' (Beaglehole 1961: 266–7). By the third voyage, however, Cook realises that dress is a visual symbol of rank and adds that 'large pieces of Cloth and fine Matting are only wore by the superior people, the inferior sort put up with small pieces . . . or the Maro, which is a narrow piece of cloth or matting like a Sash' (Beaglehole 1967: 168). Cook finds also that 'they have mats made on purpose to sleep upon' (1967:

A. [See End Plate 1, following p. 220--Analyst]

92: Kaeppler E-4 (1964-1967) 1971
OU9 Tonga OU9



169). And, as mentioned above, ragged mats were worn for mourning ceremonies. However, Cook does not list the function of mats as ceremonial gifts, which is understandable because he did not attend complete funeral or wedding ceremonies —the main occasions of ceremonial giving.

Forster's *Catalogue of curiosities* lists eight plaited items, seven of which are called mats and one an apron, and George Forster mentions 'their elegant mats, which for workmanship and variety excelled even those of Taheitee' (1777: I, 439).

Number 53 in the Forster collection is listed as 'a strong matt, with a black pattern' (plate 2*a*). It is made of light-coloured pandanus (127 cm. × 207 cm.) decorated with a diagonal pattern of black pandanus, and appears to be unfinished if spread out. This item may be a *ta'ovala la*. According to Tongan tradition certain *matāpule* (ceremonial attendants), whose function it was to supervise ceremonies such as installations of title holders and funerals of chiefs, wore a waist mat decorated with black pandanus that came to a point in the back. If this mat were folded diagonally and then wrapped, the design would be on the outside, a triangle would hang to the back, and the part that was folded inside need not be decorated. The only other example of a *ta'ovala la* so far located is in the Museum and Art Gallery, Glasgow, and it is plaited so that one side comes to a triangular point and need not be folded.

Item Number 56, listed as a mat 'pierced with holes' (plate 2*b*), is probably one of the items George Forster described in his journal as aprons, 'curiously wrought of mats in resemblance of fretwork' (1777: I, 474). This type of garment is a *kie fau* or *teunga fau* and is made of the inner bark of the hibiscus tree (*fau*) that has been partially rotted in sea water. The texture is fine and delicate, and the manufacture is a difficult enterprise in contrast to the plaiting of sturdy pandanus mats. *Kie fau* were worn as waist mats only by chiefs—*kie fau* indicating chiefly rank, just as wearing the *ta'ovala la* indicated that one was a certain kind of *matāpule*.

There are three different types of *kie fau*. The type represented by the Pitt Rivers example (160 cm. × 86 cm.) is plaited with square holes and has a fringe of tabs sewn on with twisted '*olongā* (*Pipturus argenteus*) fibre. A second type with much more openwork is found in Museum collections in Cambridge, Dublin, Bern, and Newcastle—all of which have Cook collections—but it is not always known that these particular specimens are from Cook's voyages. The third kind of *kie fau* has small plaited tabs that form an upper layer plaited out from a solid bottom layer. This type is in the Cook collections in Vienna and Stockholm, and there is one in Madrid that was collected by the Spaniard Malaspina in Vava'u in 1792. The manufacture of these types of *kie fau* was probably discontinued in the early nineteenth century. Today *fau* fibre is crocheted into openwork patterns for similar, but more easily made, decorative pieces that can be worn by anyone. The openwork technique is still known, but the more easily worked pandanus is used instead of *fau*. The functional replacement of the *kie fau*, i.e., the chief's waist mat, is now a soft, fine pandanus mat decorated with red feathers and imported from Samoa. This suggests that when the Tongan high ranking *kie fau* ceased to be made there was nothing of local manufacture that was of high enough status to replace it, and a foreign product was brought in.

But the most precious of all the plaited items to the Tongans, and to Cook's men as well, were the so-called 'aprons of cocoanut fibre'. Cook described them in his

A. [See End Plate 2, following p. 220--Analyst]

764 /86 cont./

the grave on a truck.

[602] The nearest relatives follow behind the bier, then the more distant relatives and finally the accompanying villagers. In villages that [533] have a brass band it walks at the head of the funeral procession and [177] plays a European "funeral march."

764 765 302 As a sign of mourning the widow, the sons and daughters of the deceased, as well as the children of the deceased's younger brothers and the close relatives of lower rank have their hair cut off; among all the other relatives (that is, also sons and daughters of the deceased's sister) the women wear their hair loose, the men /wear theirs/ [178] uncombed. This custom reflects the ancient kinship hierarchy. Other 764 765 304 178 formerly customary /87/ practices, such as the burning of spots on the body, the beating and rubbing of the cheeks until they are sore, and the wounding of the head (246)

246. Compare J. Martin, loc. cit. II. pp. 223/224.

are no longer observed, just as the custom of sacrificing finger joints for the recovery of higher-ranking relatives (247)

247. Compare J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 222.

764 765 782 177 643 has not been practiced for a long time. Naturally, the sacrifice of a child (248)

248 Compare J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 220.

and the widow sacrifice (249)

249. Compare J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 221.

(once customary apparently only following the death of the supreme ruler, the Tu'i Tonga) has long since been forgotten under Christian influence.

764 794 If the deceased was a Catholic, the body, beside which the priest (or catechist) said prayers during the night in the hut, is borne to church in a procession, and, after the appropriate rite,

/88 cont./

764 to the gathering, thanks them for coming and suggest that they now go
765 to the house of the deceased. There they drink kava (women and girls
574 may also take part in this gathering) and wait for the contents of
[276] the large earth oven being prepared by the family of the deceased.
[562] These contents (for example, a pig, yams, kape, taro, manioc, etc.) are divided up in baskets (of plaited palm leaves), one of which each guest receives. In a town like Fungamisi/Vava'u, the earth oven is sometimes already replaced by several hundred loaves of white bread which are bought in a bakery. A very well-to-do Tongan may entertain the mourners for ten days with food and lodging. But usually, after the baskets have been distributed and the last kava has been drunk, the guests return home, possibly after the "eldest" has thanked them again for their sympathy.

765 Only close relatives (on both sides) usually remain for ten
[602] days in the house of the deceased, (256)

256. Some of them sleep in the houses of neighbors; special huts for the mourners are no longer built.

765 whose family look after them. There is a complete noise ban in the
784 village (for example, no one may beat tapa, call loudly, sing [except in church] and dance) for a few days, and /89/ work (especially cooperative work) is at a temporary standstill. According to the old
765 custom, the noise ban for commoners probably lasted ten days and for
784 chiefs correspondingly longer, depending on their rank. Nowadays,
198 however, among commoners, the taboo is usually officially lifted for
[565] relatives after three days (or even on the evening of the day of burial), following a meal with singing and dancing, and, for example, in the rapidly growing village of Pangai (on Lifuka), a traffic and government center of the Ha'apai group, such a taboo is often observed only in the vicinity of the house of the deceased. (257)

765 /89 cont./
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257. Only the beating of tapa is generally not resumed for a few days or weeks.

[554] For a high-ranking deceased, however, a longer noise ban (of ten days or more) is still observed.

765 [531] On the morning after the funeral the women (that is, the female relatives of the deceased and possibly neighbors) fetch basketsful of sand from the beach and make a grave mound which they soon decorate with black pebbles (if available), small red and white coral stones and ki-kie lou fau (and sisi kakala) (see above). On this day, people also frequently observe the old "pongi-pongi" which formerly went on for ten days: (258)

765 574 216

258. According to statements of aged Tongan. notables (chiefs, matapule) of the village and other people come, kava is drunk in ceremonial order, and the relatives of the deceased distribute the contents of an earth oven which they have prepared.

765 After the funeral, the wife of the deceased, her daughters and sons (also accompanied by a few relatives) go every day to the grave to weed and keep the mound in order. Often a few villagers will gather for several days with the relatives for a kava circle, and the close relatives of the deceased continue wearing, every day (sometimes also at night) for some three months (or a year), the torn mat (tauanga'a, liongi, motumotu) which they put on for the burial ceremonies, (fastened with bast or a European cord), as a visible sign of mourning. [177] The European custom of a black arm band has found limited acceptance.

After a few years the majority of the people scarcely pay any attention to the graves; this attitude is reminiscent of that of commoners in times past. (259)

259. Compare E.W. Gifford, Tongan Society, p. 201.

[128] [565] [574] [784] This burial procedure is usually the rule. However, there are certain deviations, since it is left to the relatives, at any rate

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765 565 574 784 among commoners, whether or not they will link the festival with the burial of their dead (they may not, for example, because of poverty or because the one who was buried was not a close relative). Thus it may happen that the eldest of the family, after /90/ the pit has been covered over, will briefly announce that there will be no kava-drinking or earth-oven meal and no noise or work taboo. (260)

[114] 260. On January 5, 1952, on Nomuka, the author experienced the burial of a woman who had been isolated because of a serious case of tuberculosis and who subsequently died; in accordance with the wish of her relatives, no festivity and no work stoppage were observed. Again, after the death of an old man on February 2, 1952, on the same island, the work- and noise- taboo were dispensed with.

It is possible that here we find indications of a beginning decline in ancient customs.

764 765 177 178 Thus, in the sphere of death and burial we must also recognize that the Tongan have by no means been immune to European influences, some of which they adopted and combined with their old traditions, so that here we experience a fusion of ancient Tongan with European /tradition/, which, as a cultural function, entirely satisfies the needs of the community in the crisis of death, and in which everything is felt to be natural, not foreign, especially since the present older generation was born into the change, which had in essence already taken [565] place. Here too, as in the case of the wedding, (261)

261. Compare pp. 116-119.

the liberation of commoners contributed to the preservation and vitalization of ancient tradition by making more elaborate use, as far as possible, of mats and tapa, and by decorating the graves, often like those of chiefs. (262)

262. For example, black pebbles were formerly

/90 cont./

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used only for the upper classes (E.W. Gifford, Tongan Society. p. 201). On the other hand, the relaxing of old customs (for example, the noise taboo and "pongi pongi") could indicate coming changes which might bring about a loss of important old traditions and provide no adequate substitute.

c) Names

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For several decades Europeans in authority have made an effort to introduce patrilineal family names in Tonga. Up to now, however, they have had little success. Even though, in colleges, for example, students are registered under their patrilineal family names, and public authorities are making a great effort to clarify matters, if only for tax purposes, nevertheless there is still great confusion in

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eyes of Europeans who are fond of order. Few families have genuine surnames, and even these are not always handed down. In some cases people also change their names on various occasions in the course of their lives. In general nowadays, every Tongan probably has two names, one of which is often a Christian name; however, in most cases only one is used, so that a person's second name is known to only

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[585]

a few. As a rule, at her marriage, a woman is given one of the /91/ two names of her husband. In the further development of the newly founded family the following picture may emerge:

/267 cont./

535 177 to take over and imitate something new. (724)

724. For data about the dances and dance songs borrowed from Samoa at the beginning of the previous centruy see J. Martin, loc. cit. II. pp. 330-333.

535 965 177 The dances today are also free from any religious meaning; on the occasion of a death in the village the natives even refrain--in Christian fashion--from any activity of this kind for several days.

535 177 European dances such as the foxtrot, the march, the slow waltz, etc., are today also familiar to many Tongans.

(574) Younger Tongans of both sexes from the age of approximately 14 to 40 take part in these dances; on special occasions (for example, the visit of the High Commissioner in Nuku'alofa) older natives (for example [government] ministers) also dance at evening parties.

(529) (574) In general, such "European dances" (hulo hula) take place on Constitution Day, when foreign visitors are being welcomed, when there is a wedding or a birthday celebration, especially in the chief towns, but even in the more remote villages of the large and small islands.

European dress is worn (for example, the cloth vala) and people dance (mainly in houses with wooden or cement floors) in couples to the playing of guitars (or violins, banjos, mandolins, etc.).

These European dances are given only in the evening.

535 178 The most important result of the development, however, is the fact that today there is considerably less dancing than there was in ancient Tonga. The large native dances have to a great extent disappeared from public life. While at the end of the 18th century the (574) Tongans could at all times entertain with excellent dance performances European seafarers who visited them unexpectedly, they will now only occasionally and with difficulty rehearse a few dances for large special occasions. The reason for this decline is doubtless the

G 177 264 265 178 I 177 341 765 /317 cont./ With regard to death and burial, these Africans prove quite conservative, for they have scarcely changed the traditional form of their mourning customs, and have also largely retained their old methods of burial; in contrast to this, several of the old mourning customs in Tonga have been given up because the missionaries fought against them.

G 571 621 456 178 /318/ Community life with its system of mutual obligations and aid has today become distinctly individualized among the Baganda whose feeling of kinship beyond the individual economic performance is beginning to make itself felt far more than among the Islanders.

I G 565 As for social stratification, conditions in ancient Buganda were similar to those in pre-European Tonga insofar as commoners were subordinate to chiefs by whom land was allotted to them and for whom they were obliged to work, and on whose wishes they were dependent. But, in contrast to the Archipelago, the people here had the right to leave their chief if they were discontent with him, and the class of chiefs was not a closed caste; rather, every man could entertain the hope of some day being appointed chief by the king. Through European influences and intervention the old style of administration of chiefs was here too largely changed and became a sort of "native civil service" /cited in English/. Personal capability and European training are today important for the position of chief, which is no longer hereditary even in its previously already limited form. The traditional services rendered by commoners to their king and the chiefs have in this country also been replaced by the payment of taxes.

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I G 648 Governmental development proceeded in a similar manner in the two areas under comparison insofar as Great Britain set up a protectorate over Tonga as well as Buganda in 1900, and in the agreements relating to these, recognized the ruling house of the two kingdoms. The government in this African country has also been based on a Western model; thus Kabaka rules over his people with the help of his three

G 177 643 645 646